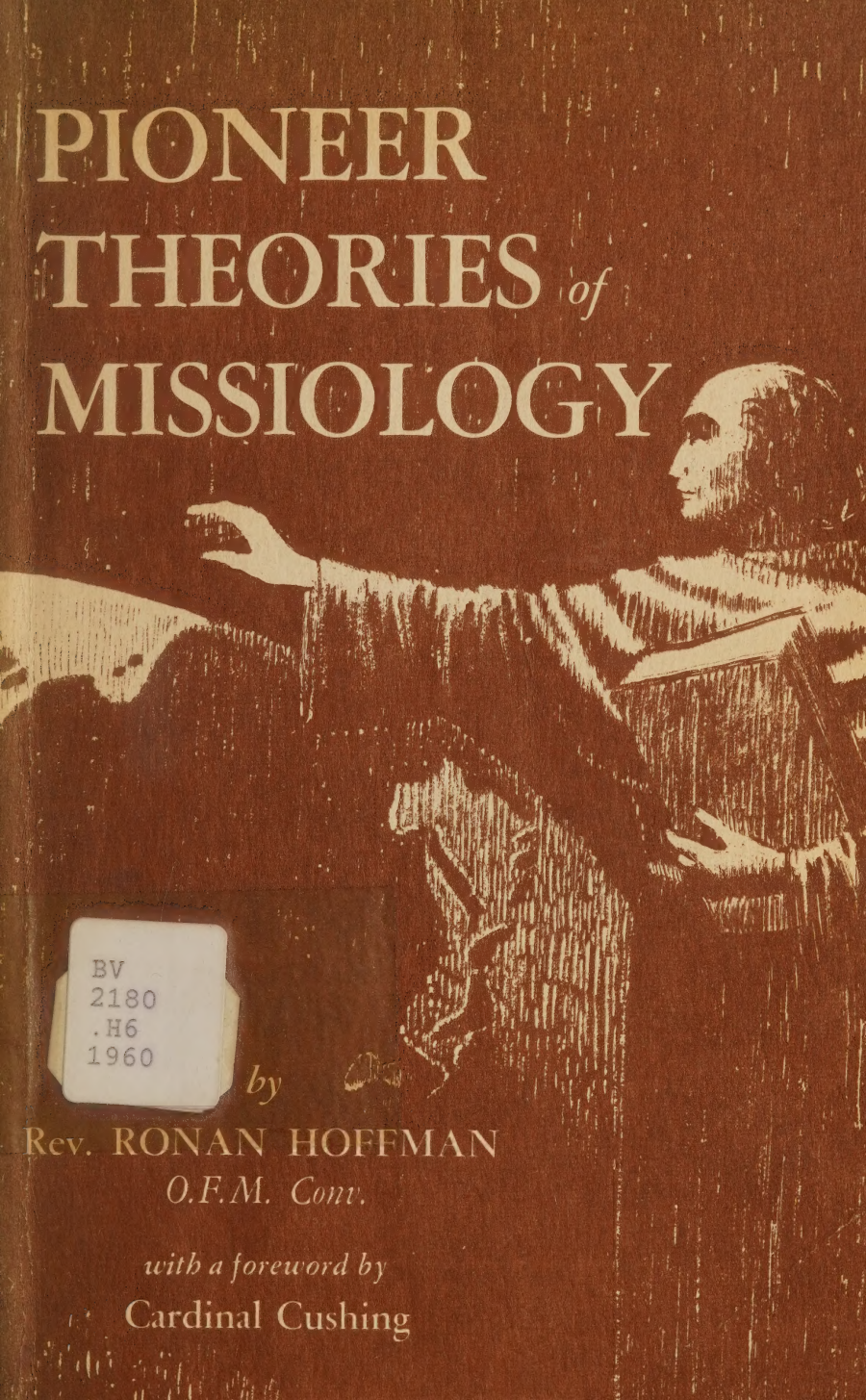


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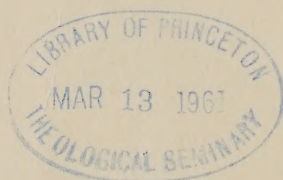


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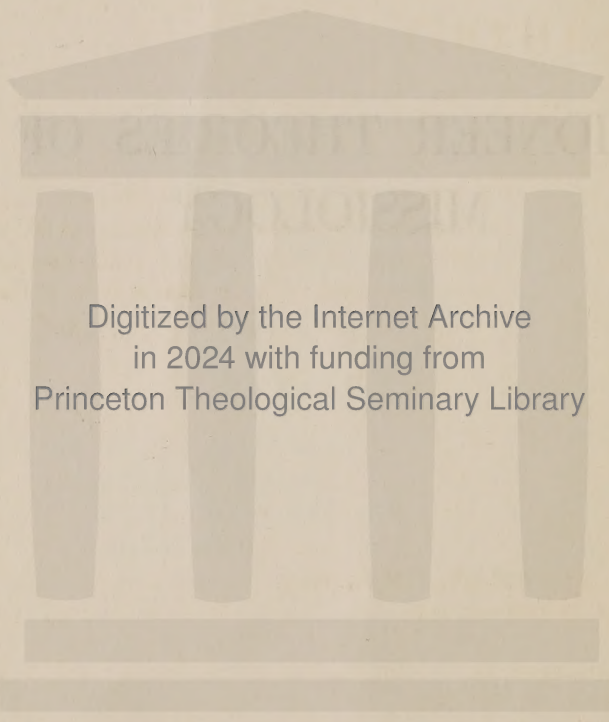
Rev. RONAN HOFFMAN
O.F.M. Conv.

with a foreword by
Cardinal Cushing



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**PIONEER THEORIES OF
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PIONEER THEORIES OF MISSIOLOGY

A comparative study of the mission theories
of Cardinal Brancati de Laurea, O.F.M.Conv.,
with those of three of his contemporaries:
Jose de Acosta, S.J., Thomas a Jesu, O.Carm.,
and Dominicus de Gubernatis, O.F.M.

by
✓
RONAN HOFFMAN, O.F.M.Conv.
Doctor of Missiology

with a foreword by
CARDINAL CUSHING

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To my parents

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FOREWORD

Missiology as a science has had a relatively short history. Its main outlines are quite definitely indicated; but there has been considerable discussion regarding certain points of presentation and method, and regarding the relative value of early attempts to derive from the actual missionary activity of the Church the principles and directives which would enter into the formulation of a scientific treatise.

The present work calls attention to an early study on the subject of Missiology which has never received proper recognition. The mission theory of Cardinal Brancati de Laurea was written as an appendix to the tract on Faith in the author's *Commentary on The Third Book of the Sentences of John Duns Scotus*. It is not surprising that a writer of the quality of Cardinal Brancati should have regarded a discussion of missionary theory and practice as related to his presentation of the virtue of Faith, and that he should have dealt with the missions as a theologian rather than as a missionary.

Perhaps this very circumstance may be significant for those who seek to establish the relationship between Missiology and the other sciences which deal with the content and practical applications of divinely revealed truth. It would be impossible to hold that Missiology has no relation whatever with the older theological disciplines. On the other hand, it is clear that the origin and development of Missiology have been tributary to the historical fact of the Church's missionary activity during the past four centuries. From one point of view, Missiology might be considered as a kind of pastoral theology for missionaries, and as embodying only a series of practical recommendations which missionary experience has taught to be helpful. From another point of view, however, the foundations of Missiology must be regarded as co-extensive with those upon which the structure of the Church itself has been raised, and from which the teaching and preaching of the Church's ministers derive strength and authenticity. Missiology is there-

fore more than just a hand-book for missionaries; it is a theological science which establishes the theoretical principles which justify and orientate constructive missionary activity.

Every science develops in the light thrown upon it by a study of its history. The progress of the theological sciences has been due in no small measure to the scholarly research which has been stimulated within the environment of Catholic faculties and universities. It is encouraging to find theologians of the background and competence of Father Hoffman concerning themselves with the history of the Church's missionary activity. As missionary endeavors become more and more extensive, and as the pathways towards successful achievement become more and more clearly marked out, the time is approaching when the work of the missionary will be carried on according to scientific planning, rather than on a precarious trial-and-error basis.

It is towards this objective that treatises on Missiology are directed. Every writer who deals seriously with this subject will want to be familiar with the results of Father Hoffman's painstaking analysis of the missionary thinking of Cardinal Brancati, and of the three contemporary writers of other schools with whom the saintly and learned Conventual Franciscan is brought into comparison. The discussion that will follow upon the publication of this book will be healthy and provocative. No one will question the scholarly character of Father Hoffman's work, or the value of the hitherto unknown facts about the history of Missiology which he has revealed. Many future contributions to the science of Missiology will be prepared for by the study of what Father Hoffman tells us about the treatises of Cardinal Brancati and the other pioneer missiologists. Thus, we may hope, the life of the Church will be renewed from generation to generation as the truth of the Church's teaching becomes more and more widely known.

✠ RICHARD CARDINAL CUSHING
Archbishop of Boston

INTRODUCTION

Lawrence Cardinal Brancati de Laurea, O.F.M.Conv. (1612-1693), a confidant of popes, was very influential in the Roman Curia during the seventeenth century. Since he was one of the most learned theologians of his age, he is well known in the literature of dogmatic and mystical theology. Yet, little is known about his missiological writing. His name does not appear among the writers on general mission theory in the *Bibliotheca Missionum* of Father Robert Streit, O.M.I., which is the most complete bibliography of mission writings. Neither is his name found in the *Bibliografia Missionaria*, which was begun after the publication of the above work and publishes each year the titles of books, articles, and other mission writings that appeared in the preceding year.

Apparently the mission treatise of Cardinal Brancati was unknown to most of the men who began the systematic study of the missions in the present century. There is one exception, however, for Father Pierre Charles, S.J., refers several times to Brancati's teaching in his manual of missiology. In addition, Father Charles briefly summarizes the contents of the Cardinal's treatise in an appendix to his book in which other mission writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are sketched.

The knowledge of the existence of this mission treatise of Brancati was first brought to the attention of the writer by a friend and confrere, Father George Eldarov, O.F.M.Conv., Professor of Missiology at the Pontifical Theological Faculty of Saint Bonaventure of the Friars Minor Conventual in Rome. Father Eldarov had himself learned of its existence from the manual of missiology of Father Charles.

The only other modern source which mentions this treatise of Cardinal Brancati is the manual of missiology of Monsignor Paventi. This writer also summarizes in one paragraph the contents of the Cardinal's work. The summaries presented

by Monsignor Paventi and Father Charles are quite similar, even when they both erroneously state that Brancati was a Capuchin. Actually he was a member of the Conventual branch of the Franciscan Order. Their evaluation and criticism of the Cardinal's work is substantially the same. Of the two missiologists, Father Charles has a little more to say concerning the treatise.

Both of them note that Cardinal Brancati was perhaps the first to write a systematic treatise on the propagation of the Faith. To be more exact, Father Charles states that "perhaps" he was the first, while Monsignor Paventi states it without qualification. This is a highly interesting statement since the scientific study and organization of mission theory, on a large scale at least, has taken place only in this century. If it is true that Brancati's treatise is the first systematic treatise of this kind, it is a writing of great interest and perhaps of great importance. In any case, such a treatise demands a more thorough investigation in order that the doctrine contained in it may be examined in greater detail, and also to learn the method and form he used in systematizing this doctrine nearly three hundred years ago.

Another interesting characteristic of Brancati's treatise is the fact that the author was a Prefect of Studies at the Urban College of the Propaganda about forty years after its foundation. Many other works were written at that time by missionaries, or by dogmatic theologians, or by moralists; these writers, however, had no official connection with the Propaganda. In Brancati we find an author who had an official position at the Propaganda College in its early years, an author who was in charge of the studies of missionary students in the middle of the seventeenth century—an age of intense mission activity. His treatise, therefore, will reflect the thoughts, not merely of a private individual, but of one in a position of authority at this missionary college under the supervision of the Congregation of the Propaganda.

There is a third factor which adds to the interest and importance of this treatise: it was published by the Propaganda press. What makes this significant is the fact that

the Congregation of the Propaganda had previously issued several decrees during the seventeenth century which prohibited the publication of any writing on the missions without receiving its special approbation. Since Brancati's treatise was published by the Propaganda itself, it is certain that the mission theory contained in it conformed to the mind of the Propaganda at that time.

These were the reasons which motivated the writer to undertake a study of Cardinal Brancati's mission treatise, for it seemed that such a treatise deserved fuller treatment and more recognition.

Very likely one reason why Brancati's writing is so little known is that it forms a part of the tract *De Fide* in his *Commentaria in Libros Sententiarum Scoti*, a rather unlikely source to find such a treatise on the missions. Moreover, this *Commentaria* itself is a rare work. None of the volumes of his *Commentaria* was listed in the card file at the Propaganda Archives, one of the most important archives certainly for mission writings, when the writer went there in October of 1956 looking for material on Brancati. The only work of his listed in the file was an alphabetical index he had made to the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Cardinal Baronius. Upon my request the eight volumes of the *Commentaria* were subsequently located through the kindly interest and efforts of Father Nicola Kowalsky, O.M.I. The volume containing his mission treatise was in the archives, although not listed in the card file. This fact is mentioned simply to indicate how difficult it would be for someone who did not know of Brancati's treatise to learn of its existence, and thus to explain its relative obscurity.

In this study of Brancati's treatise it is intended, first, to give some brief biographical data on the man himself; second, to expose his mission doctrine and comment on it, taking into account the few remarks made on it by Father Charles and Monsignor Paventi; third, to point out the characteristics of the treatise and appraise its value. Since it is impossible to evaluate properly the work of an author in total isolation from similar works of his contemporaries, the mission writ-

ings of three outstanding missiologists of Brancati's time are brought into comparison with those of the Cardinal. The names of these three works, in the order of their historical appearance, are *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* by Jose de Acosta, *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium* by Thomas a Jesu, and *De Missionibus Inter Infideles* by Dominicus de Gubernatis. The first two works preceded the publication of Brancati's treatise, whereas the last one appeared a few years later. This comparison is made, not so much to prove or disprove dependence of one upon the other as to illustrate the scope, contents, and form of development of each work. Such a comparison, it is felt, will better enable the reader to evaluate the mission treatise of Brancati.

The writer takes this opportunity to express his sincere gratitude to his religious superiors for permission to pursue missiological studies at the Gregorian University in Rome. Since this work is based on a doctoral thesis written there, he also wishes to thank the members of the Faculty of Missiology of the Gregorian University for their assistance, and also Most Reverend Sebastian Weber, O.F.M.Conv., who took time from his many duties as Socius and Assistant General of the Friars Minor Conventual to read the manuscript and offer many helpful suggestions during the course of its composition. Likewise, he is indebted to Very Rev. Aidan Carr, O.F.M. Conv., Rev. Gervase Beyer, O.F.M.Conv., Rev. George Eldarov, O.F.M. Conv., Rev. Jeremiah Smith, O.F.M. Conv., Rev. Richard Lawlor, S.J., and Mr. Erwin T. Endress, for their critical reading of the manuscript, and to Miss Frances Neason, who typed the manuscript.

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CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON CARDINAL BRANCATI

Inasmuch as Lawrence Cardinal Brancati is not listed among the writers on general mission theory by Father Robert Streit, O.M.I., in his work *Bibliotheca Missionum*, something about this illustrious man needs to be said. Since a knowledge of the writer himself will, as a rule, shed some light on his writings, the salient facts of his life and work are presented here in order to indicate the personality and activity of Brancati and the influence of these upon his mission treatise. This biographical presentation, therefore, is limited to such data as is relevant to a better understanding and appreciation of his treatise on the propagation of the Faith.

The Sources

One of the most important sources for the life of Cardinal Brancati is his own *Autobiographia*, written in Latin and contained in fifty-six pages of manuscript. This was published in 1940 by Father Lucian Ceijssens, O.F.M., in *Miscellanea Francescana*.¹ It lacks the unity which could be desired in such a work; it also has the defect of treating minor matters at length while passing over briefly things which deserve fuller treatment. As Father Ceijssens points out, it has all the limitations of an autobiography written by a man in his later years when past events are viewed under a different aspect than they really had; nevertheless, he agrees that, using it with due caution, it affords an insight into his character and life.²

A contemporary of Brancati, Fr. Bartholomaeus Comandus, O.F.M.Conv., wrote a short life of his confrere. It was published only five years after the death of the Cardinal and is the earliest biography written. Composed in a classical Latin style, it eulogizes Brancati through numerous flowery citations

from the classical authors and Fathers of the Church, but gives only the bare outline of his life.³

An important early source is the biography written by the Cardinal's secretary, Gabriele Baba.⁴ This work has a special import, since the author was a confidant of Brancati and could furnish from personal knowledge information about the virtues and activity of the Cardinal. Lavish in his praise, Baba nevertheless cites concrete examples on which he bases it. Thus, the work is neatly balanced between factual data and laudatory tributes to his employer.

Several other contemporaries who knew Brancati well wrote short biographies, which they included in larger works on outstanding writers of the Franciscan Order. The more important of these works and authors are: *Bibliosofia e Memorie Letterarie di Scrittori Francescani Conventuali* by Giovanni Franchini, O.F.M.Conv.; *Biblioteca Universale Sacro-profana Antico-moderna* by Vincenzo Coronelli, O.F.M.Conv.; and *Orbis Seraphicus* by Dominicus de Gubernatis, O.F.M.⁵ The above-mentioned works are the oldest sources for the life of Cardinal Brancati.

His biography continued to find its way into the bibliographies of succeeding centuries. Among these can be singled out: *Scriptores Franciscani ab anno 1650 ad annum 1750* by Sbaralea-Rinaldi; *Scriptores et Doctores Ordinis Minorum Conventualium ab anno 1650 ad annum 1830* by Nicolaus Papini; and *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana* by Joanne a San Antonio.⁶ In more recent times Marinus A. Floriano, O.F.M. Cap., included a short biographical sketch of Brancati in his *De Viris Illustribus Ordinis Minorum*.⁷

An account of the life, activities, and writings of Cardinal Brancati is also suitably covered in Hurter's *Nomenclator Litterarius Theologiae Catholicae*, in the *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, in the *Kirchenlexikon*, and in the *Dictionnaire D'Histoire et de Geographie Ecclesiastiques*.⁸ His name is listed in *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*.⁹

The most recent biography—or rather “biographical profile,” as the author himself styles it—is by Father Domenico

M. Sparacio, O.F.M.Conv., and is entitled *Il Cardinale Lorenzo Brancati*.¹⁰ This is based mainly on the autobiography of the Cardinal; however, the author omits irrelevant and minor details, while at the same time supplying lacunae from some of the other sources mentioned above. A modern critical biography is yet to be written.

His Life and Work

Brancati was born in Lauria, a city in the province of Lucania, in the kingdom of Naples, on the tenth of April, 1612, and was baptized two days later, receiving the name of John Francis.¹¹ His early studies were begun when he was eight years old under the guidance of a local lawyer, Aquilante Vitale, a man of great piety and learning. From him the boy received not only intellectual training but also training in Christian doctrine and mental prayer. As a result of the good instruction and example of his teacher, he was attracted to the religious life from his youth.

On July 2, 1630, he entered the novitiate of the Friars Minor Conventual at Lecce, taking the name of Lawrence in religion, and made his profession of vows in the Order on July 7, 1631. His initial studies of philosophy were made at Bari for two years under the direction of Father Vincent Colella, S.J. He began his theological studies at Lecce, but after three months was sent to Rome. There he entered the College of Saint Bonaventure, from which he received the laureate in theology in 1637. For a period of ten years he taught philosophy and theology at Aversa, Naples, Florence, Ferrara, and Bologna. In the last three places he was also the Regent of Studies.

In June of 1647 he was elected Secretary of the Order of Friars Minor Conventual, with the additional honor of being named titular Minister Provincial of Ireland. Three years later he was elected Guardian of the celebrated Convent of the Twelve Apostles in Rome, a post of prestige in the Order. The friendly efforts of Cardinal Fabius Ghisi induced Pope Innocent X in 1654 to appoint him Lector of Theology at

the Roman university known as the Sapienza. Cardinal Ghisi had come to know Brancati and his ability through public theological disputations as well as through his theological writings, which he had already begun to publish.

When Cardinal Ghisi was elected pope in the following year, he remembered well the wisdom and erudition of Brancati. Therefore, when a vacancy occurred for the position of Qualifier and Consultor of the Holy Office, Brancati was appointed to fill it in 1658 by his friend, who was now Pope Alexander VII. In this position the talents of Brancati came to be observed even more frequently by the Holy Father, for at that time in Church history the Consultors to the Holy Office had a weekly audience with the Pope, due to the large number of propositions then being sent to Rome for judgment and qualification. At this audience the Socius of the Commissary of the Holy Office first presented his studied opinion on the doctrine at hand, and then came the Conventual Consultor. As a result Brancati ordinarily had the opportunity to voice the fruits of his study.¹² Evidently the Pope was highly impressed by Brancati, judging from the many other consultive offices to which he was subsequently appointed.

Besides appointing him to the important post in the Holy Office, Alexander VII also made him Consultor to the Congregation of Rites. The following pope, Clement IX, named him a Consultor to the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics. His successor, Clement X, in turn appointed Brancati as Consultor to the Congregations of the Consistorial, the Visitation, and the Status of Regulars. This same pope nominated him for the office of Custodian of the Vatican Library, an office which not only carried great prestige in those days, but also was of great assistance to Brancati in his continuing theological studies and publications. In addition he served as Synodal Examiner of priests and bishops. According to a decree of Pope Alexander VII, the pastors of Rome had to attend a monthly disputation at the Sapienza, at which a Dominican and a Franciscan took turns presiding; this duty Brancati also discharged on alternate months for seventeen years.

One office which he held, of particular interest in this study, is that of Prefect of Studies at the Urban College of the Propaganda. As such he was in charge of the instructors of students from missionary areas of the world.¹³ He was appointed to this office in 1665 by Pope Alexander VII, who, as has been said, had personal knowledge of Brancati's learning. This pope was interested in the reform of studies at the College, established some thirty years before, and had instituted a special congregation for this purpose. One of the first acts of this congregation was the nomination of a Prefect of Studies.¹⁴ Eight years later Brancati was selected for this position by the same pope. His appointment to it came at a time therefore when the Holy See was in the process of reforming the curriculum of studies at the Urban College. Brancati was one of the first of many eminent men, including cardinals, to preside over the institution in this capacity.

It might be pointed out that Brancati held all of these offices, not successively, but simultaneously—a fact which calls for wonderment and admiration. All of his early biographers note the great industry and diligence with which he performed his manifold and difficult duties, and the immense esteem and praise accorded him as a result.¹⁵

It is not surprising then that Brancati was singled out and promoted to the cardinalate by Pope Innocent XI on September 1, 1681.¹⁶ Finally, he was made Camerlengo of the College of Cardinals on January 2, 1693.¹⁷ He continued to serve the Holy See, to which he had given more than thirty-five years of distinguished labor, until his death on November 30, 1693. He was buried in his titular church, the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles in Rome.

Cardinal Brancati is regarded by historians as one of the greatest theologians of the seventeenth century, a man of vast learning, singular piety, and unbounded liberality toward the poor. Because of his erudition he was consulted frequently by persons of high station: popes, prelates, and princes. He played a large part in the solution to Gallicanism and Jansenism, which were infesting the Church in his day.¹⁸ Held in

high esteem by the popes under whom he served, he was referred to as "the right arm of the Holy See."¹⁹ In two conclaves his name was proposed for the papacy, and it is said that he might even have become pope had it not been for the interference of the Spanish government.²⁰

Despite the honors thrust upon him, his contemporaries bear witness to the fact that the saying "Honores mutant mores" was not true of him; amidst all of them he never let either his position nor his pressing duties interfere with his religious and spiritual obligations.²¹ Usually he was the first in the chapel for Divine Office, mental prayer, or other exercises of the community. This assiduity in the exercises of the spiritual life he continued after he was elevated to the cardinalate. Such regularity in the religious life was almost bound to shine through in his writings. This seems quite evident in the case of an opusculum he wrote on prayer which has received high praise; the influence of his life of prayer can also be detected in the mission treatise to be examined.

Most of Brancati's life was spent in study, teaching, and especially in acting as a consultor to many Congregations of the Holy See. His life was that of the scholar and adviser rather than that of the man of action and great deeds. Due to its very nature, much of his work was hidden from the public eye. It was not for that reason less important, and his influence upon the decisions and policies of the Church in his day must have been significant, as can be judged from his connection with so many Congregations and his intimate friendship with several popes of the period.

The Writings of Brancati

Besides his labors as a professor of theology and a consultor to the Holy See, Brancati also wrote and published a number of works. Chief among them are his *Commentaria in Quattuor Libros Sententiarum Joannis Duns Scoti* contained in eight volumes in folio. In them he treats exhaustively almost all subjects pertaining to special dogmatic theology,²² and with such distinction that Noris wrote in 1677: "Est hic

Commentarius solidus et doctus, sed admodum rarus et carus."²³ It had been Brancati's intention to complete the work of his confrere, Fr. Volpi, O.F.M.Conv., who had been prevented by death from commenting on more than the first three books of Scotus' work. Brancati therefore started with the Fourth Book, intending to work backwards toward the First. However, due to lack of time neither did he complete the task; the eight volumes of his *Commentaria* treat only the Third and Fourth Books of the *Liber Sententiarum* of Scotus.

He also published a volume entitled *Epitome Canonum*, which contains a complete list of all the canons to be found in the general and provincial councils, in the *Decretals* of Gratian and of Gregory IX, and in the encyclical letters and constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs up to the time of Alexander VII. This work went through two editions at Rome, four at Venice, and two at Cologne. Some of the later editions were published in two volumes in folio and bore the title, *Polyanthea Sacrorum Canonum*.

His opuscle *De Oratione Christiana eiusque Speciebus* has likewise gone through many editions down to the present century. This work received high praise from Pope Benedict XV, who wrote that "there was no one who explained the matter of prayer more clearly, more subtly, or more safely."²⁴ One writer says that it is a work in which the author exhibits his profound knowledge of the spiritual life, of which he became a master more perhaps by his own holy living than by the abstract study of asceticism.²⁵

A student of history, he also composed an alphabetical index to the famous *Annales* of Baronius for his own personal use. This index was considered so useful that it was published posthumously by his friend, John of Lima and Mello. At the request of Comandus and other friends, he wrote a treatise on grace according to the teaching of St. Augustine entitled *De Deo quoad Opera Praedestinationis, Reprobationis et Gratiae Actualis*. He also wrote other works on various subjects, such as the life of Jesus Christ, the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, the life of St. Joseph Copertino, and other works on prayer.

This brief sketch of Brancati's life and work has been presented for the purpose of understanding the man himself and the position occupied by this talented pioneer in mission science. Before analyzing the doctrine contained in his mission treatise, the circumstances underlying its composition will be given.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF CARDINAL BRANCATI'S TREATISE

The Source and Motive Behind the Treatise

The missiological doctrine of Cardinal Brancati is found in the second part of Tome III of his *Commentaria in Quattuor Libros Sententiarum Scoti*, which contains his commentary on the tract *De Fide*.¹ As we learn from the dedication of this part of the *Commentaria* to Pope Clement X, it was Brancati's intention to include in this tract, in addition to the more general and ordinary questions concerning the virtue of faith, a treatise on its propagation which would be partly historical, partly doctrinal.² He inserted therefore three disputations, which are entitled: "De Fidei Propagatione ac Dilatatione," "De Fidei Propaganda per Missionarios," and "De Missionis Exercitio." These three disputations cover one hundred twenty pages in folio; if printed separately, it would be a work of nearly fifty thousand words. The above mentioned disputations are referred to hereafter as "the mission treatise" of Cardinal Brancati. In adding this treatment of the missions he is the first to attempt a systematic treatise on the propagation of the faith in the tract *De Fide*.³ In fact, it may be a unique addition to this tract in the whole history of theology.

Another unusual feature of this treatise—at least insofar as it is a treatise on the missions, though not as matter included in a *Commentary on the Book of Sentences*—is the use of the Scholastic method. The disputations are divided into articles, two of which are further subdivided into what are called "paragraphs," but which are lengthy subdivisions of the article. At the beginning of each article Brancati explains the sense of the question proposed in one or several *Advertenda*, and then gives his opinion or teaching, to which he adduces proofs and confirmations. Occasionally objections are raised and answered. His mode of argumentation is more positive than speculative, his arguments being based on the

Sacred Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, canonical legislation, and the practice of the Church.⁴

In these three disputations Brancati sought to answer various questions concerning the propagation of the Faith: when, where, how, and by whom it was actually propagated from the beginning of the Church; whether there is any precept concerning its propagation, and if so, who is obliged; finally, how it ought to be propagated in the future. In connection with this last point he discourses at length on the missionary vocation, its sublimity, the qualities required of a missionary, his obligations, his manner of living and acting, and how he ought to carry out his mission.

The reasons motivating the Cardinal to include this treatise on the propagation of the Faith are found scattered in several places of his *Commentaria*. He states in general that he considers these questions on the propagation of the Faith to be proper and pertinent matter (*argumentum validum*) in discussing the virtue of faith.⁵ Since he had been engaged for many years in the preservation and extension of the deposit of Faith, the inclusion of a treatise on its propagation appeared to him both logical and useful.

His purpose can be determined more specifically, however, for he wrote these disputations with a particular group in mind. Within the treatise he noted that he wished to demonstrate "for the benefit of our tyros" (that is, for the benefit of students), the providence of God and the diligence of the Church in spreading the Faith.⁶ In another place he declared that these three disputations contained matter particularly appropriate to the nature of his institute.⁷ In neither place did he name explicitly the institute or students for whom he was writing. The institute could conceivably be the Urban College of the Propaganda, of which he was Prefect of Studies; or the Sapienza in Rome where he was a professor of theology; or the College of Saint Bonaventure belonging to his own Conventual Order.

Now Brancati's use of the phrase "our students" could refer to the students of any, or indeed all, of these institutes. However, his reference to matter which was especially appro-

priate to his institute indicates that he had in mind the students at the Urban College; for, of the three institutes, only the Urban College was exclusively missionary. Since the matter of these three disputations is of a missiological character, the students referred to by Brancati were more likely of the Urban College.

Very likely, in his capacity as Prefect of Studies, Brancati had perceived the need of a work which would provide a special missionary education and formation for the students. At that time the courses of study at the Urban College were as follows: the humanities and rhetoric, scholastic and dogmatic theology, philosophy, and a recently formed course in controversy.⁸ Apart from the course in controversy, there is nothing specifically missionary about these courses. Nor did the current theological works contain subject matter expressly treating the missions. Yet anyone destined to labor in a mission country ought to receive a specialized missionary training. The missionary has urgent need of a precise and definite antecedent orientation, with consideration being given to those conditions encountered in mission lands which may present obstacles to the propagation of the Faith. From the treatise itself one gains the impression that Brancati not only realized this, but tried to provide that required preparation and orientation for future missionaries.

The very content of these three disputations confirms this conclusion. It is useful for a missionary to have a background in the history of the propagation of the Faith and an awareness of the diligence of the Church and popes in fulfilling this duty. From a practical point of view, it is useful to know what a missionary ought to be and how he ought to carry out his apostolate; this would include the knowledge of how to prepare oneself, what must be known, how to begin, what to teach, what to look for, what means to use in the work of conversion, and so forth. Such topics form the burden of these three disputations which seem to have been written in answer to the implied question, "What is a missionary, and how should he exercise his mission?" Since all the students at the Urban College in the time of Brancati came from infidel

regions to receive education and training for their ministry in these regions, they were the logical subjects for whom he wrote his mission treatise.

Besides the content, the manner and style of the treatise reflect Brancati's intention to form apostolic missionaries. Despite the formal, systematic approach resulting from the use of the Scholastic method, the phraseology used is quite informal at times. It is written not in the cold and impersonal manner in which the speculative theologian would write, but in the concrete and practical style of writing proper to a manual of pastoral theology. Both the contents and style suggest that the treatise was written by one who wished not only to instruct but to influence, not only to teach but to form; he intended to demonstrate not only abstract and general principles, but their concrete application as well. Brancati's treatise therefore is not only a treatise on mission theory but a manual for the practical formation and efficacious encouragement and inspiration of missionaries. It reflects the mind of an author who sincerely wished to form the future missionary in his way of thinking, speaking, and acting; it illustrates that he wanted not only to teach the directive norms for the work of evangelization but to create in the future evangelist himself a true and sincere missionary spirit. It is a treatise written not only by a theologian but by an ascetic, and it is the result of his life of prayer as well as of study. Perhaps nothing shows this better than the concluding words of the treatise:

Precor igitur misericordiarum Patrem, ut omnibus missionariis det sapere, intelligere, et operari secundum eiusdem Dei voluntatem, cui gloria in saecula.⁹

The doctrine contained in Brancati's treatise on the training and formation of missionaries is important in that it reflects the thinking of a seventeenth-century Prefect of Studies at the Urban College of the Propaganda. The Urban College was founded by and was under the direct control of the Propaganda; it was the principal missionary seminary. Conse-

quently the ideas of Brancati, its Prefect of Studies, are of particular interest and importance. They can even be said to be quasi-official and authoritative, as representing the mind of the Propaganda itself. Indeed, Father Charles, well-known Louvain missiologist, notes that his words bear authority.¹⁰

There is a further reason for the above statement. It is decidedly interesting and significant to note that Tome III, containing the treatise, is the only one of the eight tomes comprising his *Commentaria* which was published by the Propaganda press. What makes this significant is the fact that this Congregation had issued several decrees requiring all writings on the missions to be approved by it before their publication. The first decree was issued as early as May 22, 1627.¹¹ Several other decrees appeared subsequently, one of them in the very year (1673) that Brancati published Tome III of his *Commentaria*.¹² While publication by the Propaganda in no way made this treatise the official teaching of the Congregation, it nevertheless is an indication that it had officially passed on its contents and had found nothing contrary to the discipline and practice of the Propaganda. Its publication by the Propaganda lends to Brancati's treatise a certain external authority.

Historical Background of the Missions

Since the circumstances of the times in which an author writes very often influence him in his writing, and since this is particularly true in the case of Cardinal Brancati, a general picture of the historical background of the missions in his age will be helpful in understanding both the questions treated by him and his method of treating them. Before presenting the doctrine contained in Brancati's mission treatise, it will be useful to prefix a general conspectus of the contemporary mission situation upon which that doctrine is predicated.

As a result of the discoveries of new lands and peoples made by the Portuguese and Spanish explorers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the mission apostolate

was undertaken on a world-wide scale. The sovereignty of Spain and Portugal over the lands discovered by them was recognized by Pope Alexander VI's famous Bull of Demarcation, according to which an imaginary line was drawn from north to south slightly to the west of the Azores and the Canary Islands. To the east of this line were the Portuguese possessions; to the west were those of the Spaniards. In making this concession the Church imposed upon these two Catholic countries the obligation of propagating the Faith and of bringing into the Church the natives of these lands. At the same time it granted to the kings of Spain and Portugal the right of patronage; that is, the right of nominating bishops and pastors for all churches and benefices to be established in their respective colonies. Accepting this right and the obligation it entailed, both countries embarked on a twofold project: the colonization and evangelization of the lands discovered by them. Consequently, together with soldiers and colonists, the kings of Spain and Portugal sent missionaries to spread the Gospel of Christ.

This combination of political and religious conquest produced results of mixed merits for the missions. On the one hand, it made possible the very undertaking of the missionary apostolate in Africa, America, and the Orient—an apostolate so vast that the Church could not have undertaken it by herself and had therefore to rely upon these political powers to do it. It cannot be denied that the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal were themselves imbued with a true missionary spirit and that they strove zealously to fulfill their obligation of propagating the Faith. The Spanish and Portuguese governments "erected and endowed the hierarchy and bishoprics as well as numberless churches and parishes, protected and financed the missions and missionaries, selected and sent out the orders and missionaries, nominated and removed the bishops and pastors, and collected the tithes and revenues of the *patronatus*."¹³ In short, they assumed the burden of missionary activity and nobly discharged their obligation of spreading the Gospel of Christ in areas of the world where it had not previously penetrated.

In time, however, various evils arose from this arrangement: evils of a moral nature and evils arising from the concentration of administrative control of the missions in the hands of civil rulers. This form of state missions led to a confusion of spiritual and material interests in the minds of the colonists, and very often obscured the distinction between colonization and evangelization in the minds of the natives as well. All too frequently the material interests predominated among the conquistadors, many of whom did not hesitate to use violent and brutal measures against the natives in their quest for riches. Against this brutality the missionaries raised their voice in protest, as did also the kings of Spain and Portugal, who enacted humanitarian laws for the protection of the natives and repeatedly took steps to suppress abuses. Unfortunately, it was difficult for the kings to enforce these laws in the distant colonies, for their enforcement depended upon civil administrators in the colonies themselves. They, being far from the homeland and king, oftentimes ignored these laws or failed to enforce them. In addition to the obstacle created by the use of physical force, the scandalous lives of some colonists also acted as a deterrent to the conversion of the natives.

Besides these moral evils, were those flowing from the dependence of the missions upon the state, which was not always guided by ecclesiastical or spiritual considerations in the administration of the mission apostolate. Under the terms of the *Jus Patronatus* the governments of Spain and Portugal had almost complete control over the missions; they not only appointed bishops and pastors but exercised authority over them by demanding, for example, that all conciliar and pontifical decrees have their royal approval and by permitting bishops to correspond with the Holy See only through the mediation of royal agents. The dependence of the missions and missionaries upon the state was partly responsible for the secularization of the missions, for the degeneration of many of the missionary clergy, for a hierarchical organization which was ill-adapted to the needs of the missions, and later on for the exclusion of missionaries from other countries, even

though Spain and Portugal were unable to supply enough missionaries.

In order that the Church might gain control of the mission apostolate, Pope Gregory XV established the Congregation of the Propaganda in 1622. This Congregation revived and renewed the initial missionary spirit of the previous century and began immediately to unify and centralize the missionary apostolate within the Church. It also began to establish and introduce many sound principles of missionary methods, to correct abuses, to publish works on the missions, and to institute colleges for the training of missionaries. Worthy of mention besides the Urban College, founded by the Propaganda in 1627, is the seminary of the Society for Foreign Missions of Paris (1633), which assumed great importance both as an institution for the missionary movement at home and for the recruiting of personnel for the foreign missions. It is noteworthy also that the Propaganda concerned itself not only with the propagating of the Faith in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies but also with the conversion of heretics in those European countries where Protestantism had taken hold.

In the Far East arose two connected controversies which had disastrous consequences for the missions in the seventeenth century. The first controversy concerned the admissibility of certain native rites and customs in China and India. The Chinese people honored Confucius through such external ceremonies as prostrations, incensations, food offerings, and the burning of candles. Some missionaries, mainly of the Jesuit Order, considering them to be merely civil ceremonies, permitted converts to retain them; other missionaries, of the secular clergy and other religious orders, argued that they were not merely civil ceremonies but had an idolatrous character, and therefore they could not be kept by converts. In India the nature of the controversy centered rather around the adoption of Indian ceremonial practices by the missionaries themselves. Those who adopted them were denounced as apostates and idolaters by other missionaries. Numerous reports were made to Rome by the members of both sides in the rite

controversy, and a number of decisions emanated from Rome, first prohibiting the practices and later permitting them under certain conditions. Due to the great distance between Rome and the Far East, and the consequent length of time it took for news to travel back and forth, this controversy lasted for a large part of the seventeenth century and continued into the first part of the following century, until the use of these rites was finally abolished by Rome.

Connected with the rite controversy was the jurisdiction controversy, which had its origin in the historical development of the hierarchy and of mission law in the Portuguese spheres of influence. As has been mentioned, the Portuguese kings exercised so much authority over the bishops and missionaries in the colonies that, practically speaking, they were the *de facto* heads of the mission apostolate. This was a situation not only unsatisfactory but positively harmful to the missions for the reasons already noted. Since the kings were unable or unwilling to ameliorate the situation, the Church, which has a mandate from Christ to spread the Gospel independent of any civil authority, was compelled to take steps to rectify matters.

According to the terms of the *Jus Patronatus*, the Portuguese kings had the right of appointing residential bishops in mission lands. Under this arrangement these bishops obtained jurisdiction from the archbishop of Goa in India. Unwilling to repudiate the *Jus Patronatus*, the Church nevertheless appointed vicars apostolic for the Far East. These vicars, who were selected from the Society for Foreign Missions of Paris, were titular bishops and received their jurisdiction directly from the Holy See, to which they were immediately subject. By appointing these vicars and exempting them from any dependence upon the kings of Portugal, the Church hoped to be able to control and improve the missionary situation in the East.

Upon their arrival in the Orient, the vicars encountered strong opposition on the part of many bishops and missionaries who contended that only the kings of Portugal had the right under the existing law to appoint bishops, and further-

more that all bishops had to obtain jurisdiction from the archbishop of Goa. In order to justify and clarify their position, the vicars pointed out that they were appointed directly by the Holy See, which has full authority in religious matters, and that they were therefore exempt from the authority of both the Lisbon government and the Goan hierarchy. Furthermore, they claimed authority from the Holy See to command obedience from all missionaries in the Far East.

The controversy was further complicated by nationalistic jealousies, since the residential bishops were Portuguese whereas the vicars were French. Hence, they were accused of being heretical French Jansenists as well as usurpers of authority. As a result of this controversy over jurisdiction, a schism broke out between those upholding the rights of Portugal and the Goan hierarchy on one side and those claiming the rights of the Holy See and the vicars on the other side. Rome upheld the jurisdiction of the vicars, but attempted to heal the schism by granting authority to the residential bishops in those areas in which Portuguese colonists had settled and to the vicars unlimited jurisdiction outside these areas. Since the most extensive missionary work took place outside the Portuguese territories, the Holy See did manage in time to regain her rightful authority over the missionary apostolate. However, the jurisdiction controversy and ensuing schism caused a great deal of harm to the eastern missions in the seventeenth century.

All of the popes under whom Brancati served took an active interest in promoting the missions. It has already been mentioned that Pope Alexander VII instituted a reform of studies at the Urban College of the Propaganda. It was this same pope who instituted the first vicars apostolic, in order better to care for the particular needs of the eastern missions. His successor, Clement IX, continued the work of centralizing all mission activity under the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. He also confirmed many rights and powers of jurisdiction of the vicars over all missionaries in matters concerning the care of souls.

Clement X continued the forward advance of mission work

started by his predecessors. He issued several important decrees concerning the rite and jurisdiction controversy, which occupied such a prominent place in the mission history of that century. It was during his pontificate (1670-1676) that Brancati published his mission treatise. The following pope, Innocent XI, continued the unified direction of the missions, under the aegis of the Propaganda in Rome and the vicars in mission lands.

Because of the high interest in the missions, the centralized control of the Propaganda, and the successes reported from many quarters, high and justifiable hopes rose in the early part of the seventeenth century that before long the Church would be firmly planted in most areas of the world. About the middle of the century the missionary movement reached its peak, and then it began slowly to decline both in the mission fields and at home.¹⁴

The Use of the Term "Mission"

This term came into use in a technical sense not many years before Brancati wrote his treatise. Since researches on this point are still rather sparse, a brief discussion of Brancati's use of the term will clarify the meaning he attached to it and perhaps will be of service to those interested in the development of its meaning. He uses it in at least three different senses. First, he uses it most frequently to indicate the act of sending. That is the meaning of the word when he discusses the obligation of the missions, demonstrating that only the Roman Pontiffs have the right to "institute" missions, as he phrases it. For example, at the end of a long list illustrating the actual sending of missionaries by the popes from Clement I to Clement VIII, he says: ". . . and the reader is warned that only some missions are referred to here."¹⁵

Secondly, the word is used in the sense of a duty to be carried out or in the sense of a task assigned by the sender to the missionary. He writes, for instance, that the Apostles felt that they had not fulfilled their mission unless they also preached to infidels.¹⁶ Again, he says that if anyone is ap-

pointed a missionary by the pope without being assigned to any definite place, he may exercise his mission in any part of the world.¹⁷ The title of Disputation XIX is "De Missionis Exercitio," in which he treats the manner of carrying out the missionary office or duty.

Less frequently does he use the term to denote a place; in fact there are only a few clear instances of it. One of these instances occurs when he appends a list of those places in the world where there are *fixed missions*.¹⁸ Yet even here the use of the term in that sense apparently seemed so unusual to Brancati that his marginal notes on these pages refer to the "loca missionum," as if he wanted to explain that these are the places where missionaries were sent and were exercising their mission or office. Most of the time he employs the phrase, "in locis missionum," or something similar to indicate regions where there are missions.

On two occasions he mentions the vow of going to the missions taken by some Jesuits.¹⁹ Since he uses the preposition *ad* with the accusative case, it would seem that the term must refer to a physical place or location. Likewise, he counsels a distinct knowledge of the status of the mission.²⁰ The context in this case refers to the region, the people, and the whole environment. But these few examples are the only ones in which the term seems to refer necessarily to a place.

Brancati's use of the term "mission," therefore, has two principal significations: the act of sending missionaries and the duty committed to the missionary in virtue of this act of sending. Only in a few rare instances does he use it to signify a place.

CHAPTER III

BRANCATI'S THEORETICAL MISSIOLOGY

The History of the Propagation of the Faith

In many places of Sacred Scripture, begins Brancati, it was prophesied that the Faith of Christ would be preached throughout the whole world and among all peoples, who would eventually subject themselves to His rule. In the Book of Genesis it was foretold that the Messiah would be the hope and expectation of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews.¹ The Book of Psalms reveals that Christ would have the Gentiles for His inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for His possession, that He would rule from sea to sea, that all tribes of the earth would be blessed in Him, and that the whole world would be filled with His majesty. All the ends of the earth shall be converted to the Lord Christ, Who will have dominion over the whole world.²

The prophets also made many predictions concerning the glorious rule of Christ. Isaias prophesied that His glory shall be declared to the Gentiles, who will beseech Him and will walk in His light.³ Zacharias, Malachias, and the other prophets uttered similar revelations, proclaiming the universal spiritual dominion of Christ over the whole world and all peoples.⁴ This dominion of Christ is over the minds and hearts of peoples who, by believing in Him and His doctrine, accept Him as their king and Lord. Noting that in many other places of Scripture similar prophecies are made, Brancati set out to inquire when, how, and through whom the Christian Faith was propagated. The fulfillment of these prophecies in the actual historical propagation of the Faith, he observed, is a proper and worthwhile object of investigation.

The source and origin of the Christian Faith was Jesus Christ Himself. During His public life Christ went about the land of Galilee preaching the kingdom of heaven, teaching very clearly that He was the sole mediator between God and

men and that no one could be saved except through him.⁵ Unless, therefore, one believes in Him as the Son of God and is baptized, he cannot enter heaven. This central and essential position of Christ is clear in the whole New Testament. Christian doctrine revolves around the person of Christ as the Son of God; hence, He is truly the very source and origin of the Christian Faith.

Furthermore, He was the first sower and propagator of the Faith, for He first taught all things that men must do and believe in order to be saved, and then sent others to teach these same truths. It was only after He had first preached His Gospel that He commanded the Apostles to go and teach all nations, baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. "Teach them," He said, "to observe all that I have commanded you." Whatever the Apostles taught, therefore, had been already taught by Christ; it was His doctrine which they preached, in accordance with His instructions and His commission to them. During the lifetime of Christ the Apostles confined their preaching to the Jews in Palestine, for Christ was sent primarily to the people of Israel. But since the Gentiles were to be included in God's plan of salvation, the Apostles went into the whole world after Christ's ascension into heaven to preach the Gospel to every creature, as He had commanded them. From the day of Christ's ascension, the whole world, including all nations and all peoples in it, became the object of the propagation of the Christian Faith.

Brancati then recounts the missionary journeys of the Apostles in order to demonstrate that, obedient to the command of Christ, they went into the whole world and propagated the Faith. Subsequent to this account of their travels, he lists the places where the seventy-two disciples preached, giving the names of nearly half of these disciples, as found in historical records. In turn, Brancati reports the missionary activity of over a hundred other disciples of the apostolic period and the regions where they spread the Faith. He continues this historical survey, showing the propagation of the Faith in the various regions of Europe, giving the dates and

names of many missionaries who carried the Gospel into these regions. Finally, the beginnings of the missionary endeavors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after the discovery of new lands and peoples, are sketched by the Cardinal.

The sources used by Brancati are the New Testament and the writings of the Fathers for obtaining information on the spread of the Faith in the apostolic period. For the missionary work of the later periods he used the *Martyrologium Romanum*, the *Theatrum Conversionis Gentium Totius Orbis* of Arnoldus Mermannius, and especially the *Annales* of Cardinal Baronius.⁷ This historical exposition, although covering some twenty pages in a folio volume, is done in a summary fashion and amounts, generally speaking, to a simple listing of places along with the years and names of the evangelists who brought the Gospel to these places. In this manner he compressed much mission history into a short digest of facts but did not explain the methods used in various periods, the obstacles encountered and overcome, or other data which the more critical historian would consider essential.

It is not therefore a complete history of the Catholic missions up to the seventeenth century, nor was it intended to be. At the beginning Brancati stated that he did not intend to write an exhaustive history of the missions; his purpose was to illustrate for students, by a few demonstrations of historical facts, the providence of God and the diligence of the Church for the propagation of the Faith.⁸ Taking into account that even general ecclesiastical history was then taught in the theology courses and not as a separate branch of study, this brief mission history was sufficient to show students that the Church had carried out this precept of Christ and that the prophecies in regard to the spread of the Christian Faith had been fulfilled.⁹

Brancati availed himself of the best current sources for his outline history of the missions, which is accurate in general. There are a few minor inaccuracies, especially in the form of overstatements. The Cardinal says, for example, that about the year 140 A.D. the Christian Faith had spread through all nations and regions of the whole world, in con-

firmation of which he quotes Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian.¹⁰ But the "whole world" of which they spoke was contained in the lands around the Mediterranean, whereas the rest of the world was actually still in the darkness of paganism. Likewise, in naming the regions where the Faith had been preached, Brancati frequently makes use of the expression *fidem receperunt*, which gives the implication that all the inhabitants of that region accepted the Faith.¹¹ This certainly was not true in the case of Japan and India, which he says had "received the Faith," and very likely was not true in regard to many other places.

In one place the Cardinal becomes involved in what appears to be a contradiction; at best his meaning is unclear. On the one hand he says that certain bishops have at times gone to infidel regions to preach or sent others there to preach, either because they were requested to do so by the leaders or by the people or because God so inspired them.¹² In a subsequent passage he writes that, from the beginning of the Church, bishops never went to infidel regions nor by their own authority sent others to preach in them, but always obtained the permission of the Roman Pontiff for this.¹³ Although he does not exclude the possibility of the bishops in the first example having obtained permission after being requested or inspired thereto, still the evidence he adduces seems to suggest the first interpretation because the historical examples he gives are different in each case. In any event the statement that bishops always obtained the permission of the pope for missionary expeditions among infidels is not historically true.

The history of the propagation of the Faith is rounded out by a synoptic picture of the missions in the seventeenth century, drawn from such information as Brancati could find in the archives of the Propaganda, in order to show that no nation in the world of his day could feign ignorance of Christ's Gospel; or if any nation was ignorant of it, it was either because it refused admission to missionaries or refused to accept their teaching, but not because of any failure on the part of the Church to bring them the light of the Gospel. He then lists the various places in the world where there were

fixed missions in the seventeenth century and the religious orders that were doing missionary work in those places.¹⁴

This missiography of Brancati has been rather severely criticized by Father Pierre Charles, S.J., who stated that Brancati used a defective method which produced a "model of confusion." In substantiation of this criticism Father Charles notes that Cyprus is listed between China and Cochin-China, that only the Theatine Fathers and Carmelites are mentioned in Goa, that the only missionaries mentioned in Brazil, England, and France are the Capuchins, and that Jesuit missionaries are said to be in Japan, although they had not been able to labor there due to persecutions for nearly three decades prior to the date of Brancati's writing in 1671.¹⁵ Although the points of criticism mentioned by Father Charles are true, only one of them has reference to a lack of order generating confusion—the fact that Cyprus is listed between China and Cochin-China; the rest refer either to omissions or inaccuracies.

Father Charles seems to suggest that Brancati's picture of the missions is confusing due to a lack of geographical order in the arrangement. But one may well ask if a strict geographical order is required or even necessarily the best method to follow in this matter. Various arrangements could be used, each based on a different principle of order and each having its own advantages and disadvantages. One might, for example, list missions geographically, alphabetically, or even perhaps in the order of their size and importance, depending upon the end intended.

The 1946 edition of *Le Missioni Cattoliche*, giving all the missions under the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, listed them in alphabetical order under their respective names.¹⁶ This had the advantage of facilitating a rapid consultation, but the disadvantage of presenting the individual missions apart from their geographical location and historical setting. Consequently, the edition of 1950, in listing the major mission areas of the world, proceeded geographically from west to east and north to south, insofar as this was possible; individual missions within each major area

were then listed alphabetically. As a result, Equador is found listed between Brazil and French Guiana, although it is located to the west of both these countries—which is the same basic “defect” that Father Charles criticizes in Brancati’s arrangement.

As a matter of fact, Brancati organized his list of missions under ten major areas distributed geographically; under each of these ten areas he listed an average of ten or twelve important mission centers in that area. Although these mission centers are not arranged in either alphabetical or geographical order, the list is so short under each area that the failure to do so seems unimportant. Even though the listing of Cyprus between China and Indo-China seems now to be a glaring instance of poor geographical order, it should be noted that all three are placed under the missions in Asia, where they are really located. Brancati stated that he got his information from the Propaganda Archives; the presumption is that the picture of the missions he gave reflected the distribution of mission centers as found in those archives in the seventeenth century.

His schema accords in general, although in a briefer form, with the famous report made six years later in 1677 for Pope Innocent XI by Urban Cerri, the Secretary of the Propaganda.¹⁷ Neither Brancati nor Cerri distinguished between the Near East and the Far East as we do today, but simply grouped all the missions in the continent of Asia together. Granted that the distance between Cyprus and China is great, it must also be realized that there was much territory between the two where there were no missions at all at that time. Although the region was vast, the number of missions was comparatively small and this small number justified their listing under the simple heading *Asia*. The one example selected by Father Charles does not accurately characterize Brancati’s schema; neither does it warrant the conclusion that the *whole* picture of the missions is a model of confusion.

The omissions pointed out by Father Charles become a point of criticism only on the supposition that Brancati’s missiolog-

raphy purported to be complete. But the Cardinal stated definitely that it was not complete, both because he was not able to obtain all information and because he did not want to be prolix.¹⁸ He only intended to show, by a graphic presentation of those areas where missions were then located, that the Church was still carrying out the precept of Christ to propagate the Faith in the whole world.

As for Brancati's inclusion of Japan as a mission territory in 1671, it is interesting to note that *Le Missioni Cattoliche* of 1950 lists as a mission Urga, Ulanbator, erected in 1922—although missionaries have never been able to enter that Communist-controlled territory.¹⁹ Even though missionaries were not able to work in Japan in the very year Brancati wrote, very likely the consensus of opinion in Rome considered Japan as a mission territory with the hope that the Japanese military leaders would soon permit missionaries to re-enter the country, just as we today hope that Urga and the other Chinese missions closed by the Communists may soon be re-opened. Consequently, Brancati's inclusion of Japan as a mission country in 1671 is fully justified.

This survey of contemporary missions made by Brancati is of interest in that it illustrates the object of missionary activity in the seventeenth century.²⁰ Based on information found in the Propaganda archives, it shows that there were missions at that time in various parts of Holland, Belgium, France, England, Ireland, Italy, Poland, and Russia, illustrating that the Propaganda was concerned not only with the propagation of the Faith in Africa, America, and Asia, but also with safeguarding it in Europe.

The Right and Obligation of Sending Missionaries

Having demonstrated that the Christian Faith had been spread in all parts of the world, thus fulfilling the prophecies made concerning its universal propagation, Brancati observes that in some regions the people have either fallen back into paganism or embraced heretical doctrines. This relapse into heresy, he states, was oftentimes due to the fact that pagan rulers

persecuted the faithful and attempted to extirpate the Faith in their lands. In the seventeenth century such persecutions were both frequent and severe, especially in China and Japan, while in Europe the Reformation had destroyed the unity of the Christian Faith and had introduced many new heresies. This being the situation, Brancati asked: Is there any precept obliging the Catholic Church to bring infidels to the path of salvation and to recall heretics to it by the preaching of the Faith? If so, upon whom does this obligation rest?²¹

In treating this question Brancati distinguishes between the right and the obligation of sending missionaries or of instituting missions, as he calls it. Theoretically, it is possible that one could have the right of going to the missions or of sending others without having the obligation. Conversely, if one has the obligation to preach the Faith, he also has the right to do so.

Bishops are obliged to preach the Faith in their own dioceses to all souls—to infidels, whether Gentile, Jew, heretic, or schismatic, as well as to the faithful.²² Through the copious citation of Scripture and the Fathers, Brancati demonstrates this special duty of bishops to preach to all within their own diocese, since they are the successors of the Apostles, whom Christ commissioned to preach to all nations and to every creature. Bishops, therefore, are bound by a grave obligation not only to preach the true Gospel of Christ, but also to extirpate heresy by all lawful means.

Yet bishops living in Christian regions have no obligation either of going to mission lands themselves or of sending others to preach the Gospel.²³ Although bishops are the successors of the Apostles, they are such only as regards sacred orders and jurisdiction, not however in the apostolate of the whole world. Even though the Apostles had universal jurisdiction in the whole world, each one nevertheless exercised his apostolate in a determined region for the sake of order and thoroughness in spreading the Gospel. The Church has followed this example of the Apostles from its earliest years and has divided the world into ecclesiastical districts in order to preserve order and avoid conflict of jurisdiction.

Bishops then are bound in justice to teach and rule in their own diocese, not in the whole world. Neither does the natural law oblige them, for by no precept of the natural law are they constituted teachers for the entire world, nor are they supported by the whole world. Therefore, to infidels living outside their own diocese bishops do no injustice if they neither go themselves nor send others to bring them the light of the Gospel.

If bishops are not obliged to go to the missions or send missionaries, *a fortiori* neither is a simple priest or monk.²⁴ Nor is there any obligation upon any cleric to preach the Gospel, if he should perchance find himself among infidels by reason of captivity, shipwreck, or some other unexpected cause.

Furthermore, declares Brancati, not only do bishops have no obligation to go or send others to mission lands, they do not even have the right to do so. In fact ecclesiastical law strictly forbids bishops to exercise their episcopal office outside their own diocese.²⁵ Hence from the beginning of the Church bishops have sought the permission of the Vicar of Christ before preaching the Gospel in the regions of infidels or heretics.²⁶ A further proof of this is the prohibition of Pope Gregory XIII, who forbade to all patriarchs and bishops of China and Japan to send to the Japanese provinces, without the permission of the Holy See, any priest or religious of any order except the Jesuit, under penalty of interdict, suspension, and excommunication.²⁷ If bishops had the right to do so, the Pope could not have made this prohibition; that he did so is proof that they have not this right. Brancati notes that on occasion bishops actually have gone and have sent others among infidel peoples, that priests and even lay-people have promulgated the Faith on the occasion of finding themselves among infidels by reason of business, captivity, or exile.²⁸ Nevertheless, he insists, apart from God inspiring them to do so, they had not the right even though they enjoyed some success.

The Roman Pontiff has both the right and obligation of preaching the Faith to the men of all nations in the whole

world either *per se* or *per alios*.²⁹ To Peter, and to him alone of all the Apostles, was committed the task of feeding all the sheep of Christ, including those outside the sheepfold.³⁰ Since the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Peter, he alone has both the right and obligation of propagating the Faith in the whole world; and since it is impossible for him to do so personally, he is charged with the duty of sending missionaries to preach the Gospel among infidels who have perhaps not yet heard it, as well as among those peoples whose Faith has been lost or corrupted through heresy. This right of sending missionaries is not without sanction in regard to heretics, for the Roman Pontiff has the right of governing all Christians; therefore, he has not only the right of proposing the Gospel to heretics but also the right to use measures for their return to the Catholic Faith. Even though heretics have separated themselves from the Church, they are still subject to it and to its head, the Pope, for through Baptism they have put on Christ and so are subject to Christ's Vicar: Peter and his successors. The Pope therefore has the right to bring them back to the path of salvation, even by the use of censures and other means.

The Cardinal then proceeds to show in two lengthy "paragraphs" the diligence of the popes in fulfilling their duty of sending missionaries from apostolic days down to the seventeenth century, as well as various other ways in which they have aided the missions: by the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and by the foundation of mission seminaries and language schools.³¹ The reason for this historical narration is both to prove the recognition and fulfillment of this duty by the popes and also to emphasize that only the popes fulfilled it by right. Thus he points out that when the kings of Spain and Portugal wanted to send priests to the new lands discovered by them, they sought permission not from the bishops of their own kingdoms but from the Roman Pontiff.

The obligation of sending missionaries, however, is a positive precept which binds *semper sed non pro semper*. Wishing to establish the necessity of the missions at the time of

writing, Brancati then delineates those parts of the world in which there were still pagans, heretics, and schismatics: India, Japan, China, America, Africa, and the Philippine Islands. Many of these people, he wrote, are still not members of the Church, outside which there is no salvation; missions to them are necessary. The lack of large numbers of conversions is no excuse for not undertaking missions among these peoples. God wills the salvation of all men; Christ wills the Gospel to be preached to all men of all nations. Moreover, he observes, Christ's command should be clearly understood; He did not command to the Apostles and their successors that they should *convert* all nations but that they should *preach* to all nations. The missionary can expect that some will reject his preaching, just as some rejected the preaching of Christ Himself. As a matter of fact, Christ foretold that some would not listen to them. Yet this is no reason for discouragement or for discontinuing their missions. Their reward will be given to them according to their labor, not according to their fruit. It is for the missionary to plant and to water; it is for God to give the increase in His own good time.

Brancati's treatment of the mission obligation is somewhat negative and incomplete; he demonstrates the obligation of bishops to propagate the Faith to all classes of persons within their own diocese, but limits it to their own territory. There is nowhere any discussion of the obligation of bishops, taken collectively, towards infidels in the world at large. The precept of preaching the Gospel in the whole world, he teaches, is the concern of the Roman Pontiff; through frequent repetition he emphasizes that it is the exclusive right of the Roman Pontiff to send missionaries, explicitly denying this prerogative to bishops. Not only does he relieve bishops of all responsibility towards the missions outside their own dioceses, but he neglects any discussion of whatever obligation priests, religious, or the laity may have towards the mission apostolate.

This omission is puzzling, especially since other writers of his age—notably Thomas a Jesu in his book on the salvation of all nations—treated the obligation towards the missions

incumbent upon all Christians: the Pope, bishops, secular princes, religious orders, and the laity.³² That Brancati not only omits such discussion, but even takes such apparent pains to do so, requires explanation.

Perhaps the reason for this overly restrictive treatment of the mission obligation was due to the historical situation then prevailing as a result of the difficulties between the Propaganda and Portugal. For years, in virtue of the *Jus Patronatus*, the Portuguese Crown had been sending missionaries to its colonies. The Propaganda, wishing to centralize and control all mission activity, was desirous of sending its own missionaries without any dependence upon Portugal. Although Brancati was not directly associated with the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, he was closely associated with the Holy See and quite likely knew at first hand the problems involved. The manner in which he wrote this section of his treatise seems to be an attempt to vindicate and proclaim the rights of the Holy See, that is, the rights of the Roman Pontiffs alone to send missionaries to infidel regions. This would explain, but not justify, his unbalanced treatment of the mission obligation.

It should be understood, too, that in this section Brancati does not speak of the general obligation towards the missions *ex professo*, as we understand the matter today. In this part of his treatise he uses the term "mission" only in the sense of "the act of sending." Limiting himself to this meaning, he is correct in asserting that the popes, and they only, have the absolute right of sending missionaries to any place in the whole world. Nevertheless it must be recognized that he limited the terms of the discussion a great deal and omitted to discuss what obligation, if any, others besides the popes have towards the mission apostolate. Apparently his desire to demonstrate the rights of the popes led him to an insufficient treatment of the question.

The Missionary Vocation

Cardinal Brancati began his treatment of the missionary

vocation with a definition of the word "missionary," which came into use in the early part of the seventeenth century. Before that time missionaries were called by such names as: *Ministri sancti Evangelii*, *Peregrinantes pro Christo*, *Nuntii Evangelii*, *Praecones fidei* and *Proficiscentes ad infideles convertendos*.³³ In order to clarify the meaning of the word, he gave its etymological derivation; identifying *missionarius* with the past participle *missus* used substantively, he concluded that a missionary is one sent by God, or by others in the name and by the authority of God, to announce the word of God and His will.³⁴ Such a definition has a wide extension, and indeed Brancati applied it to such persons as Moses, the Angel Gabriel, John the Baptist, the Apostles, and even to Christ Himself. This generic definition, expressing only the element common to them, does not specify the differences in the mission each performed, and thus leads to an indistinct concept of missionary.

Since the Apostles were the first missionaries in the New Testament, Brancati examined the relationship between these two offices at some length in order to determine the specific duty of missionaries. In doing so, he found that the two terms are not convertible, for although the Apostles can be called missionaries, not all missionaries can be called apostles. Both the usage of Scripture and the practice of the Church confine the extension of the term *apostle* to those chosen directly by Christ and given a universal mission to teach; namely, the Twelve, as well as Paul, Barnabas, and Mathias.³⁵ This term designates those who occupied the supreme grade and dignity among those sent to preach; they were *legati a latere* of Christ and were given certain privileges not given to others who were known simply as *disciples*. The Apostles, for example, were chosen and sent personally by Christ; they possessed a universal mission and jurisdiction in the whole world, and they were confirmed in grace. Other saints have been called apostles, but always with a qualifying noun or phrase, such as: St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, or St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of India.

Nevertheless, since the Apostles were missionaries, the

Cardinal deduced the duty of missionaries from that of the Apostles. Just as the Apostles were sent to teach all men, so too missionaries are sent to preach the Gospel and Christian Faith in the place of their mission to pagans, Jews and heretics, and to administer the Sacraments necessary for them according to the faculties granted by the sending authority.³⁶ The reason is that missionaries succeed in the place of the Apostles in preaching, and therefore have the same duty of preaching to all men within the limits determined by the sender. This statement is not unorthodox, inasmuch as Brancati considered bishops to be the principal missionaries.³⁷ Still he could and did apply it to all missionaries, whether bishops or priests, for he taught that missionaries succeed in the place of the Apostles in preaching, not however in powers of orders or jurisdiction. The duty of missionaries therefore is essentially the same as that of the Apostles; the only difference lies in the nature and extent of the faculties granted them. Whereas the Apostles had the unlimited right of preaching in the whole world, the missionaries of the seventeenth century were generally limited by church law to a specific territory.

This duty of missionaries, he continues, is confirmed from the end of the missions. This end consists in bringing the sheep outside the fold into the Church, in ruling them and leading them on the path of salvation; this end is accomplished especially by preaching.³⁸ The purpose for which the missionary is sent, therefore, is to bring men to believe in the one true God and in Christ His Son, to bring men unto Christ through Baptism, to obtain the remission of their sins committed after Baptism through the Sacrament of Penance, and finally to teach them what they must believe and do in order to attain salvation. It is further confirmed by the form of letters patent for missionaries current at that time, which show that they are sent by the Pope "to announce the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, to teach the Gentiles to observe whatever the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church commands, to propagate the Catholic Faith and to forewarn of the universal judgment of all men."³⁹

This end or purpose of the mission, as formulated by Brancati, is of course unacceptable to the modern missiologist, who considers the *implantatio Ecclesiae* to be that end. It should be noted, first of all, that Brancati did not treat the end of the missions *ex professo*, but only indirectly in outlining the duty of the missionary himself. Like other early writers on mission theory, he did not distinguish any specific purpose for the missions in the sense in which this is understood today.⁴⁰ He based his arguments on the Scriptural command to "go; teach all nations" and on the letters with which the Church sent missionaries in the seventeenth century, in which letters the purpose of their mission was specified. In expressing the purpose of the mission, he was using the ideas and terminology in use at that time by the Holy See itself.⁴¹ The idea of "planting the Church" was not yet the dominant idea. Although it was not a principal idea in the thinking of Brancati, neither was it entirely lacking; for he also speaks about the founding of the Church and its spread by missionaries.⁴²

The reason why he lays greater emphasis upon the preaching of the Faith rather than upon the establishment of the Church is very likely that he was considering the role played by the individual missionary at that time in history as being played in circumstances quite different from what they are in the modern world. Practically the only concern of the missionary himself was to preach the Faith and administer the Sacraments, for the Spanish and Portuguese governments had the right and obligation of providing the hierarchical and social ends of the missions.⁴³ This left the missionary himself with little else to do but preach the Gospel to the infidels and administer the Sacraments. The institution of the hierarchy, the erection of churches, schools, and colleges, and the other ends of the missions were provided by these two governments, which even in Brancati's day still controlled to a large degree the administration of the missions. For this reason it is very likely that Brancati, who wrote in terms of the duty of the individual missionary rather than of the more extensive purpose of the missions themselves, confined this duty mainly to preaching and administering the Sacraments. Admitting

that he considered only one aspect of the purpose of mission activity, it should be noted that the Church itself at this time mentioned only this spiritual aspect in its official documents.⁴⁴

It has been noted that Brancati arrived at only a generic concept of missionary, which did not sufficiently distinguish this office from that of prophet, angel, or apostle. Neither does his concept of missionary distinguish this office from that of bishops or pastors in Christian countries where the Church has been firmly established. This point does not even come into discussion; nor would it have likely entered the discussion in an age when the scientific concept of mission itself, along with its particular hierarchical organization and specific end, was still undeveloped.

So great is the excellence and dignity of the missionary office that Brancati considered it worthwhile to treat it at some length, evidently in order to inspire future missionaries and to remove from them both fear and indolence. First of all, a missionary is a legate of Christ the Lord, for he is sent by Him—at least indirectly through His Vicar on earth—to carry out His work. A legate, by reason of his office, shares in the dignity of his lord whom he represents. In honoring the legate, the lord himself is honored; by injuring the legate, the lord himself is injured. Thus Our Lord said in regard to his missionaries, “He who hears you, hears me; and he who rejects you, rejects me.”⁴⁵ One called to be a missionary therefore should rejoice and make himself worthy of his dignity as a legate of Christ.

Other terms of honor and praise are found in Sacred Scripture applicable to missionaries. They are the “ministers of Christ” and the “dispensers of the mysteries of God,” for it is they who open to the ignorant the way of salvation and administer to them the life-giving Sacraments.⁴⁶ They are the helpers of God, the good odor of Christ, as St. Paul calls them.⁴⁷ By declaring the truths of salvation, they are the sowers of the Word of God,⁴⁸ the salt of the earth,⁴⁹ for by their doctrine men are preserved unto salvation. They are the spiritual fathers of those who come to the Faith, begetting a spiritual family in the bosom of Holy Mother Church.⁵⁰

Often too in Scripture they are commended as the authors of peace, the reconcilers of men with God, the healers of the blind.⁵¹ These and other glorious titles found in the Bible are applied to those leaders who bring men into the admirable light of faith and glory.

As can be expected from divine munificence, great is the reward corresponding to the faithful fulfillment of missionary labors. There is the great joy in this world arising from the conversion of men, similar to that joy experienced by the master because of the progress of his pupils. The joy of missionaries, however, is not restricted to this world but will be eternal, according to Our Lord's promise that "those who do and teach shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."⁵²

Nor is there lacking a foundation in the Scriptures and writings of the saints to believe that there is a special crown of glory for missionaries. Brancati refers to the words of Daniel 12, 13: "He who teaches men unto justice will shine as stars in eternity." Well may they deserve the crown of martyrdom even though they do not actually shed their blood for the Faith, as long as they are prepared to suffer death itself for Christ. "Greater love than this no man has, that he lay down his life for his friends," said Our Lord. The missionary frequently exposes his life to great danger in bringing the light of the Gospel to infidels. Such heroic activity and longing for martyrdom will not go unrewarded.

Persons Eligible for the Missionary Office

The office of missionary, states Brancati, cannot be executed by women, no matter how learned or virtuous. The reasons he gives are based on Scripture, the constant practice of the Church, and the specific prohibition by various ecclesiastical Councils.⁵³ Not even the Blessed Virgin or other holy women were commissioned to teach the Gospel. Where women have been useful in propagating the Faith, this was only *per accidens* either from their love of the Faith or their people, but not in virtue of any office committed to them.

Secondly, even though at times laymen have undertaken

this work either due to the inspiration of God, or by commission of bishops or the Roman Pontiff, nevertheless this office should not ordinarily be entrusted to laymen.⁵⁴ It is not divine law which prohibits this, for the seventy-two disciples were laymen, and so too were the Apostles up until the Last Supper; yet Christ permitted these to preach. The prohibition derives from ecclesiastical law. The Church has for centuries prohibited laymen from preaching, from baptizing outside the case of necessity, from administering the Sacraments. Yet all these things pertain to the office of missionary and therefore laymen are excluded. At one time laymen were permitted to preach, namely, those belonging to the Templars and Hospitalers, but this was only in virtue of a special privilege they had received.⁵⁵

At one time monks too were excluded from missionary endeavors, for it was considered incompatible with their state of life. Monasteries were erected and the monastic state was instituted not for the purpose of evangelizing and preaching, but for prayer and contemplation. Moreover, many of the monks in the beginning were solitaries and were segregated from the world. Often too they lacked Holy Orders and were unable to fulfill this duty. Subsequent ecclesiastical discipline permitted them to take Holy Orders and even to undertake missionary labor when the need for more missionaries arose.⁵⁶

As far as other ecclesiastical persons are concerned, all bishops, priests and deacons, whether secular or regular, are capable of becoming missionaries. Again, Brancati insists that only the pope may send missionaries into the world at large and denies this right to bishops. His emphatic repetition of this papal right serves to confirm the theory that Brancati was trying to vindicate the authority of the Holy See over the Portuguese kings.

Some explanation of the Cardinal's teaching on the persons eligible for the office of missionary needs to be given; for on the one hand his exclusion of women and laymen does not seem to be in accord with modern practice, whereas on the other, the mention of the eligibility of monks seems unnecessary. The exclusion of women as missionaries has been criti-

cized by Father Charles, who, in a paper on anti-feministic missiology, singles out the Cardinal in the first three pages as a prime example of an anti-feministic missiologist.⁵⁷ Although Father Charles notes that Brancati's words bear authority due to his position as Prefect of Studies at the Propaganda College and due to the great esteem he rightfully enjoyed from several Popes, he nevertheless presents a resumé of a small part of the Cardinal's doctrine in such a way that Brancati's ideas on missionary work appear rather naive.⁵⁸ After this contrasting tribute to his prestige and innuendo of his naïvete, Father Charles essays to present the thought of Brancati on women and the missionary vocation. Since it does not appear to reflect exactly Brancati's thought, a schematic outline of the Cardinal's argumentation is produced here as it appears in his *Commentaria*:

Dico. Mulieres, cuiusvis scientiae aut probitatis non possunt institui missionariae ad evangelizandum.

Probo. I ex [epistola] ad Timot. 2,12: Docere autem mulieres non permitto.

[Here Brancati quotes the glosses of Ambrose and Lyranus on this text, and cites commentaries on it by Tertullian, Jerome and Theodertus, adding to each a few words of his own by way of conclusion.]

Probo. II SS. Canonibus in Conciliis decretum est, ne mulieres doceant vel praedicent Evangelium. [Brancati then cites the pertinent canons.]

Confirmatur. Etsi Beata Virgo Sanctissima et doctissima fuerit; etsi aliae mulieres . . . plenam notitiam factorum Christi habuerint; tamen non fuit eis commissa Evangelii praedicatio . . . Ergo multo minus aliis mulieribus poterit hoc munus committi.

At non omittam referre ea quae de mulieribus, quae praedicarunt, ut dicit Marulus . . . [here Brancati names Priscilla, Aquila, St. Mary Magdalene and others who aided in the spread of the Gospel in the early days of the Church; after this he adds]: Sed non videntur ad rem facere, quia istae, non ex officio, neque ad hoc institutae praedicarunt Christi fidem, sed per accidens ex confessione propriae religionis, cuius amore capti populi eam susceperunt, deinde per

sacerdotes Sacerdotum Baptismi et dogmata Legis Christi didicerunt. *Nos vero quaerimus ministros ex officio.*⁵⁹

Father Charles' presentation of Brancati's thought is as follows:

Ce qui est plus intéressant, c'est le chapitre sur la personne et la fonction des missionnaires eux-mêmes. L'unique fonction est de prêcher la parole de Dieu et son commandement, c'est pour cela qu'ils sont envoyés, *missi*. Le reste est étranger à leur vocation. Dès lors qui peut être missionnaire? La réponse vient comme un axiome évident: rien que les hommes. Toutes les femmes sont exclues de cette fonction, et ne pourront jamais y prétendre, sauf dans des cas tout à fait exceptionnels, 'comme sainte Marie-Madeleine qui a missionné chez les Marseillais.' Et l'auteur y va d'un syllogisme très concluant: la besogne du missionnaire est de prêcher, et prêcher est une oeuvre de sagesse. Or, d'après Aristote, '*sapientia non viget communitur in mulieribus*': on ne trouve guère la sagesse chez les femmes. La conséquence semble claire à l'auteur. Il la renforce cependant par un appel au célèbre texte de saint Paul sur les femmes qui doivent se taire dans l'Eglise; et qui signifie d'ailleurs tout autre chose.⁶⁰

The key to the understanding of Brancati's doctrine in regard to women and the missionary office is to be found in the words "*Nos vero quaerimus ministros ex officio.*" He had already defined a missionary as "one sent by God, or by others in the name and by the authority of God, to announce the word of God and His will."⁶¹ It is a juridical definition of missionary and a definition in the strictest sense of the word. Brancati was clear, consistent, and correct in teaching that women cannot be missionaries *de jure* within the limits of that definition. He proved his thesis, using as the basis for it arguments drawn from Scripture and Tradition and a confirmation from historical facts. His arguments are sound and incontrovertible, and moreover represent the traditional teaching of the Church; even today only men can be missionaries in the strict sense.⁶²

Understanding that Brancati limited himself to this strict definition of missionary, it is easy to understand why he denied that women can be missionaries. After showing that women cannot exercise this office as official ministers, he added, by way of anticipating an objection, that although women had aided in the spread of the Gospel, this fact was not pertinent to his thesis. Far from denying that women could aid in the propagation of the Faith in an auxiliary capacity, he recognized that they had done so. He simply stated that, since they did so *non ex officio, sed per accidens ex confessione propriae religionis*, their activity could not be considered as an objection to his strictly defined thesis. Although denying that women could be *ex officio* missionaries, he did not exclude them entirely; he simply did not discuss any further role that women might play.

As Father Charles presents the thought of the Cardinal, it would seem to appear that Brancati excluded women absolutely from any role in the missionary apostolate apart from exceptional instances. Father Charles' presentation gives the impression that Brancati based his conclusion primarily on the uncomplimentary dictum of Aristotle that "wisdom is not commonly found among women" and then appealed (irrelevantly) to the text of St. Paul. If this were truly the basis of Brancati's conclusion, he could rightly be called anti-feministic. The basis for his conclusion is quite different.

It is true that Aristotle's dictum is found in Brancati's *Commentaria*—but it appears there as a passage quoted from Lyranus' commentary on the text of St. Paul. Whether or not, in thus quoting Lyranus, Brancati accepted it and intended it as a supplementary argument, is beside the point; the essential thing to note is that the precarious dictum of Aristotle is not the basis, much less the sole basis, for Brancati's teaching. As for the text of St. Paul, it is relevant to Brancati's thesis. When the Cardinal gave his own argument from reason to confirm his thesis, he based it not on Aristotle's dictum, but on the fact that not even the Blessed Virgin or other holy women were commissioned to preach the Gospel.

Nor did Brancati say that women cannot even presume to aid in the spread of the Gospel apart from exceptional instances;⁶³ he said that historical instances of their unofficial activity did not militate against his thesis. Moreover, besides giving the historically doubtful example of St. Mary Magdalene teaching at Marseille, which is selected by Father Charles, Brancati gave the historically certain examples of Priscilla, Aquila, and other women teaching—but teaching informally and unofficially through their own confession of faith rather than as officially constituted teachers.

Thus, it does not appear that Brancati was anti-feministic in a derogatory sense in his doctrine on women and the missionary office. He merely taught that they cannot be official missionaries. He did not exclude them entirely from the missionary apostolate; he simply omitted any discussion of any further role they might play. As Father Charles wrote, Brancati did not seek to innovate a practice which would have been contrary to that prevailing in the seventeenth century; that is, he did not seek to encourage the participation of women.

It might be asked: why did not Brancati and other mission writers of his time (for he was not alone in this omission) discuss the role of women in the mission apostolate? Very likely the answer is that there was no occasion to do so, for apart from rare instances, women were not engaged in foreign mission work in the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Yet the reason for their non-activity need not be sought in anti-feministic attitudes on the part of the men of that century. The very environment of the missions of that period can just as easily explain their lack of participation. There were the difficulties and dangers of life in uncivilized regions, the treacherous massacres by Indians in the West and the violent persecutions in the East, the hardships of travel on land and sea—these and other factors which undoubtedly must be taken into account in order to determine why women were not employed in the foreign missions then. Even though the documents of that age are silent and do not tell us why women were not found in the missions, is it not reasonable to suppose that the

rigors and hazards involved in missionary work led *both* sexes to conclude that these circumstances were not conducive to feminine participation at that time? Even if men did try to prevent women from going to the missions, does this prove that they were therefore anti-feministic? Could not this just as easily have proceeded from that chivalrous instinct of men to protect women?

The inclusion of Brancati in a paper on anti-feministic missiology has a further implication that cannot be overlooked, for Father Charles observes that Brancati's words bear authority due to his eminent position in the Church.⁶⁵ The undiscerning reader might infer from this that the Church itself therefore was anti-feministic in its attitude toward women and the mission apostolate in the seventeenth century. Such a conclusion would be false. Neither Brancati nor the Church, whose traditional teaching on official ministers Brancati followed, were anti-feministic. The reason for the absence of women in the missions in the seventeenth century, or in any century, must be sought from the entire milieu of the age and not alone in the over-simplified explanation of anti-feminism.⁶⁶

In a similar way must we understand the exclusion of laymen from the office of missionary by Brancati. Since he was determining the qualifications for missionaries who exercise the *cura animarum*, he naturally excluded them. But since he notes that no divine law prevents their cooperation in other capacities, he leaves room for the lay missionary apostolate of our age. Therefore, while at first glance it might seem that Brancati prohibited women and laymen from missionary endeavors in any form, a careful reading of his words shows that there is no contradiction between his teaching and modern practice. Any apparent contradiction can easily be solved by understanding his teaching in the light of the times in which he wrote.

In order to clarify this whole discussion, it should be noted that the word "missionary" is often used loosely today, sometimes in a strict sense to denote bishops and priests, sometimes in a wide sense to include sisters and laymen. There is no

objection to this provided its precise meaning is understood in each instance. In saying that only bishops and priests can be official missionaries, there is no reflection upon the effective role played by sisters and the laity, whose specific function in the mission apostolate has not only been recognized but praised and encouraged by the popes.⁶⁷ Their greater participation in mission work is a special characteristic of the twentieth century. Their relative lack of participation in the seventeenth century was the reason why Brancati formulated his doctrine as he did.

It has been noted that Brancati's reference to the eligibility of monks as missionaries seems superfluous, for the pages of church history contain many glorious chapters on the missionary activity of the sons of St. Benedict. In fact, the evangelization of the northern European nations in the early Middle Ages was for the most part the work of monks such as St. Colomban, St. Patrick, St. Augustine, St. Boniface, who left their large abbeys and traveled great distances to found other monasteries and to preach the Gospel. From these new monastic foundations they converted not only individuals but entire nations. Due to their particular type of organization the monks were not wandering missionaries but stable ones, who not only planted the seed of Faith but remained behind to nurture it and reap the harvest. Thus, the monastic organization was well adapted to the firm establishment of the Faith and the Church in the regions evangelized. In the light of this history it would seem useless to include the obvious.

Although this discussion may appear to have little meaning today, yet it was pertinent in the age of Brancati. The essence of the monastic life, as he notes, was originally a life of seclusion from the world, in which life ascetical practices for the perfection of the individual held the highest place. External labors were considered as extrinsic to the essence of the monastic state; thus, at one time monks were expressly forbidden to preach the Gospel, not only because it was considered foreign to their state of life, but because they did not receive Holy Orders. It was at the time of St. Gregory the Great, particularly, that monks received the Order of priest-

hood and undertook missionary labors.

Despite the history of missionary work done by monastic orders, a dispute arose within the Carmelite Order in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as to whether or not the mission apostolate was a proper object for a contemplative order. Some members argued that the life of a monk was one of prayer and contemplation, not of external works; others, that the mission apostolate was not foreign to their way of life, but that it aptly prepared them for the labor of preaching the Gospel among the infidels. One of the well-known mission writers of the age, Thomas a Jesu, was originally opposed to his order engaging in the mission apostolate, but later changed his opinion and became a zealous apostle for it.⁶⁸ Since it had become a moot question in his own century, Brancati included a treatment of it, citing papal decrees and the reasons of theologians not only permitting but encouraging monks to be missionaries.

The Qualities of Missionaries

Having established the status of the persons eligible to become missionaries, Brancati then makes a rather unorthodox division of the qualities required into natural, moral, and supernatural. The natural qualities required of a missionary are maturity or adulthood, a grasp of the language of the region to which he intends to go, and sufficient knowledge.

A missionary ought to be about thirty years of age, Brancati stated, arguing that Our Lord was about this age when He began His public ministry, and that He chose mature men to be His Apostles and disciples. Moreover, he argued, the decrees of numerous Church Councils demand this age for bishops, the successors of the Apostles; therefore, he concludes, missionaries also ought to be about thirty years old. Here again appears the close correspondence between the offices of bishops and missionaries; for Brancati, bishops are the missionaries *par excellence*, yet he never confuses the offices in matters of orders and jurisdiction. The reason for this age limit is that prudence, which comes from experience, is nor-

mally found only in mature men. Still, Brancati recognizes that younger men are capable of possessing prudence, and so he adds that, if such be the case, their youth alone should not exclude them.⁶⁹

The necessity of knowing well the language of the region to which he is to be sent is of primary importance. For this reason the Apostles were given the gift of tongues at the very beginning of their ministry. Thus, on the first Pentecost the multitude of Jews, gathered in Jerusalem from various regions, heard the Galilean Apostles preaching and were astonished because each understood the words in his own language. Likewise, the Church has on several occasions emphasized the need for missionaries to know the native language.⁷⁰

Necessary knowledge required of a missionary, according to Brancati, includes all truths of faith which must be believed and all which must be done in order to be saved. It is required that bishops and pastors of souls have sound doctrine lest they lead souls astray; missionaries *a pari* have need of the same. Using as a guide St. Augustine's invaluable treatise *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, Brancati lists the following requirements:⁷¹

- (1) a knowledge of all truths of Faith which must be believed either explicitly or implicitly and of all things which must be done in order to be saved;
- (2) a knowledge of Sacred Scripture including both Testaments, at least in a summary and compendious manner, as well as accepted books and authors who interpret and explain the more difficult passages;
- (3) a knowledge of books and authors who have written against the errors of the Gentiles, Mohammedans, Jews, and heretics, according to the needs of the territory into which the missionary will go;
- (4) a brief and summary knowledge of doctrinal canons declared by the Church, since Scripture does not contain explicitly all that must be believed and done;
- (5) a knowledge of the Catechism, Ritual, Calendar, and precepts of the Church as well as books treating of these matters, so that he may instruct converts

in necessary things and administer the Sacraments properly.

Besides the Bible Brancati recommends the work composed by Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*, as a handbook which all missionaries should have with them.⁷² Further, he wisely counsels the presence of a learned theologian in each mission, to whom the other missionaries can recur for a solution of their doubts and difficulties.

In addition to theological learning, a distinct knowledge of the status of his mission territory and its people will be very useful for the missionary. It will help him and his work to know the background of the people in the region in which he will labor. He should acquaint himself with their literature if they have any, so that he may learn their views, especially religious; what beliefs they hold; what rites they observe; whether they willingly listen to the religious beliefs of others, especially of Christians; or whether they are intolerant of other religions. The outlook of the chiefs and magistrates particularly should be investigated. It will be helpful to know whether Christianity was ever preached there before or not, whether the people had accepted it, and if so, why it was lost. Knowing these things, the missionary will be better able to present his teaching in a manner that will be more acceptable to the natives. He might, for example, be able to begin with truths they already hold and show their connection with Catholic dogma before pointing out the errors in their beliefs. If he finds that they do not willingly listen to other religious beliefs, this will make him proceed more cautiously. In a word, the more he knows about the inhabitants, their beliefs, and way of life, the better prepared will he be to present Christian teaching to them and answer their objections.⁷³

The moral qualities which ought to be possessed by every missionary are summed up in the cardinal virtues of prudence, fortitude, justice, and temperance.⁷⁴ Besides that prudence

which is required in every human being, is required the special prudence of being wary of men who will seek to bring him into their council chambers. Brancati quotes at length from Christ's warnings to the Apostles that they must be on guard against men who will seek to betray them, who will hate them for His Name's sake, and who will try to corrupt them out of hatred. Since the disciple is not above the master, He warned them that they can expect persecution as their lot. Those educated in their own religion, whether pagan or heretical, will often resent his approach and doctrine, and he must be aware of the danger—a danger which was existent in many mission areas of the seventeenth century, and one found even in our own century.

Yet the missionary ought not fear them who can harm the body but cannot kill the soul. He ought to possess the virtue of fortitude in undertaking his arduous missionary labors, in sustaining persecutions, trials, and all manner of discomforts. He is sent as a lamb among wolves and has need of this virtue to combat the possible persecutions, beatings, torments, hatreds, and plots both of enemies and friends—and even perhaps a cruel death. Superiors, therefore, should not send to the missions men who are timid and unaccustomed to enduring hardships, men who seek the softer and easier way. Rather they should send men who have already proven by external deeds that they possess this virtue. There might be an exceptional case in which a person has been previously accustomed to an easy life of sin and now wishes sincerely to undertake missionary work in order to do penance. But even though such cases are possible, they are rare, warns Brancati.

The third moral virtue a missionary ought to possess is justice, whereby he will give to all men their due. Both by word and deed Christ taught that the rights of authority, both divine and civil, must be respected; standing trial before the Sanhedrin, He observed the honor due to the authority of the high priest, as did St. Paul later on, thus following in the footsteps of the Master. Missionaries are bound to give civil honor and obedience to the lawful princes or chieftains

among infidel peoples. In doing so, they will in no small way help to pave the way for their conversion and that of their subjects.

Lastly, missionaries should be temperate in all things, observing moderation in the use of food and drink, manner of dress, and in all corporal things. They ought also to observe spiritual temperance in the sense of not glorying in themselves, their doctrine, miracles, virtues, or whatever success they may have. Rather they ought to be humble and meek, as is becoming to preachers of the Gospel, after the example of their Divine Master.

The first supernatural prerequisite for a missionary is that he be baptized, for only one sealed with the mark of fidelity to Christ is qualified to preach Him and lead others to Him. Secondly, he ought to be confirmed, as the example of Christ and the Apostles teaches us. One called to such an arduous task needs the strengthening grace of this Sacrament in order to fulfill it well. Moreover, since only bishops, priests, or deacons can be missionaries, he ought to have received Major Orders.

The missionary ought also to possess the supernatural virtues of faith, hope, and charity; and their possession should not simply be assumed, but should be proven through external actions.⁷⁵ A neophyte, therefore, ought not be sent until his faith be tested and proven, and until he has acquired a truly Catholic outlook and manner of acting. The premature departure of a recent convert might even lead to his ruin. As for hope, a man would be insane, says Brancati, to expose himself to so many dangers, inconveniences, sufferings, even death itself perhaps, if he were not to have supernatural hope. Furthermore, he who is chosen to preach the love of God and the God of love ought himself to love God above all, and his neighbor for the love of God.

Brancati's treatment of the qualities required in missionaries, which has been presented here summarily, is orderly and adequate and is based on the teaching of the New Testament, the Fathers of the Church, conciliar decisions, and experience. At times he seems to insist unnecessarily and at

too great length on the obvious, such as the need of Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders for missionaries. Still, his discussion of these matters was not without its usefulness and was required for a thorough treatment of the missionary vocation.

CHAPTER IV

BRANCATTI'S PRACTICAL MISSIOLOGY

The Jurisdiction of a Missionary

A missionary is a legate and has delegated jurisdiction. It is the very nature of delegation that one cannot exceed the limits of it. If a missionary is appointed by the Roman Pontiff without being limited to any determined region, he may exercise his office throughout the whole world. If, on the other hand, one is destined for the missions in some determined province or nation, he is bound to go to that place and dwell there and exercise his office in that region only. He may not exercise it elsewhere either licitly or validly except in the case of necessity. The Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, when asked whether missionaries could use their faculties while en route to their destined station to hear the confessions of their companions or inhabitants of the area—even in places where priests were lacking—replied in the negative.¹

In the event that, due to ill winds or some similar reason, a missionary should find himself in a place other than that to which he was destined and there is asked about his religion, or hears the name or faith of Christ blasphemed and Catholic rites ridiculed, he not only can but is bound to manifest his faith. Likewise, in a case of necessity, he not only can but ought to baptize or absolve those capable of receiving the Sacraments.

The Prefect of a mission is obliged to proceed to his province or prefecture and reside therein, so that he may be available to the missionaries in their necessities, doubts, or difficulties.² A simple missionary is bound to present himself to the Prefect or Superior when he arrives at his destined post and to obey him in carrying out his missionary duties. Missionaries who are Regulars remain under obedience to their religious superiors except in the administration of the Sacraments in which matters they are subject to the bishops

of the place.³ In each case the missionary should be guided by his faculties, which are more or less extensive, depending upon the necessities required for diverse regions.⁴

The above is a mere digest of Brancati's treatment of the jurisdiction enjoyed by missionaries of the seventeenth century, since the topic is mainly of historical interest today. Yet it contains the substance of his article on missionary jurisdiction; as can be seen, it was not as minutely defined in his day as it is in ours. In fact, the question of jurisdiction was not a clear issue then in the Far East, where a storm arose over the rights of the hierarchy appointed by Lisbon versus those of the vicars appointed by Rome. At the time of Brancati's writing, the question was still far from settled, and there were juridical arguments on both sides, since the Holy See never did explicitly revoke the *Jus Patronatus*, under the terms of which Portugal had the right of appointing bishops for its colonies.

It is interesting to note that the Cardinal says, without going into further detail, that simple missionaries should be subject to "the bishops of the place." One might wish that he had clearly determined whether he meant the Goan hierarchy or the Propaganda vicars as far as the Orient was concerned; that such a clear declaration is lacking would seem to indicate how difficult a problem it was to solve even for one who strongly vindicated the rights of the Holy See to send missionaries and missionary bishops. This right was a matter of principle on which he could, and did, take a firm stand. Far less clear, however, was the composition of rights between the Portuguese bishops in the East and the Propaganda vicars, both of whom had been legitimately sent under existing laws and had never been revoked. The difficulty of settling this problem is reflected in Brancati's silence on this point.

Miracles and Apostolic Preaching

Like other missiologists of the age, Brancati treated the question of miracles, whether they are necessary or not, and what the missionary should do if called upon to perform a

miracle. The reason for raising the question is the Scriptural text in which Our Lord said that certain signs would accompany those who preached the Gospel.⁵ Brancati's response is that miracles are not required for missionary preaching in order to confirm the truth of the Gospel, since God has not willed to give this power to each preacher. Still, even at that time, wrote Brancati, God has given such power to some missionaries, though this was not widely known.⁶ In any event Christ did not promise this power to all future missionaries, and so miracles are not necessary.

Apart from divine inspiration, a missionary should never spontaneously offer to work a miracle, since this would amount to tempting God. If he is challenged to work a miracle in confirmation of the truth of his teaching, he should try to avoid it, even though the people promise to become Christian should he succeed. He should explain to them that the working of miracles belongs to God alone, not to man, even though God often works them through men; that he was sent to preach the Gospel, not to perform miracles; that neither Christ nor the Apostles worked wonders every time they preached or were asked to do so.

If the people should insist upon a sign and threaten never again to listen to preachers of the Christian Faith unless he here and now work a miracle, he should seek time for deliberation and turn to God for counsel in prayer. Let the missionary remember, however, that the Fathers of the Church and bishops in Councils, though they engaged in controversies and disputations with infidels, Jews, and heretics many times, never had recourse to miracles. The humble and prudent missionary will preach the Faith and leave the rest to God.⁷

It is obvious that a missionary must dispute with unbelievers concerning matters of Faith, for by disputing is meant the presentation of proofs for Christian teaching and showing why the opposite is erroneous. Yet this should be done privately and peaceably in order to avoid contention and scandal. The missionary should never instigate any public disputation unless God should inspire him to do so. If he is challenged to a public debate from which would follow scandal and harm

to the Faith if he were to refuse, he ought to accept in the name of the Lord and, committing himself to prayer and relying on divine help, descend to the arena. In all cases he should avoid injuring the feelings of his audience; moreover, he ought not seek his own glory but undertake it solely for the honor of God and the spiritual profit of his neighbor.

Evangelical Counsels and Missionaries

Since, according to Brancati, the purpose of the missions is to convert souls through preaching, the missionary should know how to conduct himself properly, for men are moved more by example than by words. It was for this reason that Christ first did, and then began to preach. The proper manner of life and activity for missionaries is regulated in part by those instructions which Our Lord gave to the seventy-two disciples and to the twelve Apostles before He sent them to preach.⁸

Before proceeding to give Brancati's doctrine, it might be pointed out that his teaching on this matter appears to be the principal reason for Father Charles's adverse criticism of the Cardinal's mission doctrine. Since Father Charles was the first to discover and comment on the mission treatise of Brancati, his comments must be taken into account here; for although quite brief, they are generally uncomplimentary.

In his *Dossiers* Father Charles stated that Cardinal Brancati used a defective method in treating mission questions, but without specifying in what that defective method consisted.⁹ The reader must try to determine his reason for this judgment from scattered comments in his manual of missiology. It seems that the main reason why he considered Brancati's method to be defective was because, according to Father Charles, the Cardinal "quite arbitrarily reduced all his mission doctrine to the precepts which Christ gave to the Apostles before sending them to preach."¹⁰ This same criticism is repeated in another place when he says, "in the opinion of Brancati, the life and action of a missionary is regulated by the instructions given to the seventy-two disciples."¹¹

In another of his writings Father Charles declared that, excepting Jose Acosta (1588), it can be said that Brancati was the first to treat the questions of missiology.¹² After noting the source in which these questions are treated, Father Charles stated his opinion that the value of Brancati's mission treatise is disputable and proceeded to present a very brief resumé of that section dealing with the evangelical counsels and missionaries. Presumably it is the teaching in this section which he found of such little worth that he considered the entire treatise to be of disputed value.

Father Charles wrote: "The value of the assemblage [i.e., Brancati's mission treatise] is somewhat disputable. It tells us, for example, that the life and action of the missionary ought to be based on the instructions which Our Lord gave to the seventy-two disciples and that they should always say 'Pax huic domui' upon entering a house; that they should shake off the dust from their feet when they are not received; that they should eat with the people and announce that the coming of the kingdom is near; but that missionaries have the right to possess more than one change of clothing, a staff for their journey, a wallet, and sandals. These are only some of the details which show us an idea of Brancati's conception of the conditions of missionary labor."¹³

A presentation of Brancati's doctrine such as Father Charles gave, implies that the learned Cardinal was very naive in his mission teaching. But a more complete presentation of it will, I believe, dispel that characterization of the man and his teaching.

At the beginning of this section of his mission treatise, Brancati noted that the life and conduct of missionaries will have a great influence upon the people to whom they will preach, since example is wont to move men more than words. Quite properly, and not arbitrarily, he turned to the instructions given by Christ to the first missionaries in order to determine whether and how far they should regulate the ministry of later missionaries. He recognized that these instructions were not precepts in the strict sense, but rather counsels and admonitions which should characterize the apostolic

missionary's entire ministry; thus, he called them *documenta*, or examples to be followed. Since they were only examples, they were never intended to be a complete set of regulations; and since they were of a spiritual nature, they were not designed as mission methods or techniques except insofar as a missionary's spirituality can be called a "mission method."

These instructions of Our Lord are varied. They apply, strictly speaking, to the Apostles, and to them only for their first missionary journey. On this first mission Christ sent them only to the Jews, not to the Gentiles, and told them to cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, and cast out devils. These things Brancati omitted, since they were obviously not intended for later missionaries. The substance of the rest of them is as follows: to stay with worthy people, and stay with them until they leave a region; to salute a house upon entering it; to eat of what is put before them; to shake the dust from their feet if they are not received; to salute no one on the way; and to flee to another place if they are persecuted. Then the warning is given that they are sent as sheep among wolves and therefore should be prudent as serpents and simple as doves; that they should beware of the traps of men, but nevertheless should not be anxious how to speak if they are brought before tribunals. Finally, the Apostles were prohibited to carry gold or silver, to possess two tunics, or to wear sandals. Brancati added many admirable texts from St. Paul, in which the Apostle exhorts all ministers of Christ to lead an exemplary and holy life so that their ministry cannot be blamed.¹⁴

Now, did Brancati seriously intend that the *modus vivendi et agendi* of missionaries be governed by those Scriptural texts and by these exclusively? As far as the texts from St. Paul are concerned, undoubtedly he did intend this, for they are exhortations for a blameless ministry. In order to answer the question in regard to the instructions given to the Apostles and disciples, let us refer directly to the words of Brancati himself:

Advertendum. Quod cum finis missionis sit conversio animarum per praedicationem, maxime ad hunc

finem conducunt modus vivendi atque conversandi missionarii, magis enim exempla, quam verba movent . . . De his ergo operibus, quae in modo vivendi et conversandi, cum infidelibus praesertim, exercentur et ad fidem eos alliciunt, aliqua dicemus.

Advertendum. Quod Salvator, tam Apostolis quam 72, multa imposuit in munere missionum exercenda, nec tamen utrisque omnia, ut legi potest Matt. 10 et Luc. 10 at inter ea, quaedam sunt mere supernaturalia, ut gratia sanitarum et potestas miraculorum, ad quae certe nullus missionarius tenetur; quaedam vero moralia et de his loquemur. Quaedam vero, ut sunt paupertas, discalceatio, etc. in sequenti articulo discutientur; an et quatenus missionarii ad ea teneantur? saltem ex consilio.¹⁵

After this introduction he begins:

Dico. Modus vivendi et conversandi missionarii cum infidelibus in Evangelio et in aliis Canonicis scripturis per diversa documenta praescribitur.¹⁶

While Brancati does say that the mode of living and the conduct of missionaries is prescribed in the Scriptures, on the other hand he calls these prescriptions of Our Lord, *documenta*. According to its classical usage, this word means "examples" or "patterns." That Brancati considered them merely as examples is clear from his manner of treating them, for he did not apply them literally to missionaries, but explained their meaning or commented on them. He demonstrated their spiritual meaning for all missionaries by correlating them with other places in Scripture, and by presenting the interpretations of these instructions by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and his favorite commentator, Lyranus.

The instruction to stay with worthy people, Brancati teaches, indicates that the missionary should stay with the faithful, if there are any there; otherwise, with persons of good reputation at least, for the missionary must guard his good name. The words, "stay there until you leave," he explains, has a twofold meaning: to go abroad only for the

purpose of exercising his apostolate, not for purposes of idle curiosity; when not engaged outside in his apostolate, he should prepare himself for it within his dwelling. This instruction, and also the prohibition of not speaking to anyone on the way, he explained in a reasonable way; both indicate the diligence with which the missionary should perform his office.

The direction to salute the occupants of a house upon entering it gives the missionary to understand that he is a messenger of peace and should act accordingly. In commenting on the precept to eat of what is put before them, Brancati points out the sobriety that should be found in the missionary and that he should not be concerned about food or drink. He warns the missionary against acting in a contentious manner and counsels meekness in referring to the instruction to shake the dust from their feet if they are not received by people. Instead of becoming disturbed or angry because of a lack of interest in, or even opposition to, his preaching, the missionary should recall Christ's rebuke to James and John, who asked Him to send fire from heaven to consume a city in Samaria whose citizens rejected Him.

The missionary is admonished that he is sent as a lamb among wolves, but that he should not fear, for the Good Shepherd Who has sent him will protect him. He ought to be wise as a serpent and simple as a dove; that is, prudent yet guileless in avoiding the traps and snares of men. In his intercourse with infidels he should act in an open manner, avoiding both pedantry and pretended ignorance. While shunning both duplicity and trickery, he ought not be unaware of the dangers of men who will persecute him just as they persecuted the Master. While he may be called on to expose his life for the Faith, this should not be done recklessly but under such circumstances that his confession of faith may be fruitful. Thus, sometimes flight from persecutors is both necessary and lawful, as the example of Christ and St. Paul teaches.¹⁷ If the missionary should be brought before tribunals, he ought not worry about what to say or how to say it, but should rather rely confidently upon God. Still, this does

not mean that he is forbidden to prepare a defense or apologia, but simply that he should not be overly concerned; he should maintain a peaceful composure, speak simply and truthfully, and leave the rest to God.

As can be seen, Brancati did not simply apply these instructions of Our Lord in a literal manner but interpreted their meaning for the missionaries of the seventeenth century. The warning to be prudent as serpents and to beware of the deceits of men had application for the missionaries of his age, even as they have today. In fact, many of the *documenta* which Brancati includes are counsels of Christ applicable to missionaries of all ages, *mutatis mutandis*, according to circumstances and conditions.

Missionaries, the Cardinal maintained, ought to avoid vain-glory concerning the conversion of infidels or any signs, cures, or other miraculous works God may perform through them. They may rejoice in the Lord concerning the successful progress of their mission, but they ought to give the glory for it to God. They are not prohibited from carrying a purse, from wearing sandals, from possessing two tunics, or from carrying sufficient money for their needs.¹⁸ These things Christ prohibited to the Apostles on their first missionary journey, but not when He sent them on their universal mission into the whole world. A discussion of these questions might seem trivial to us today in the light of present day practice, but evidently Brancati did not consider them too trivial to be treated.

Moreover, the Cardinal did not content himself with a simple declaration that these things were not prohibited to missionaries, but went further to explain clearly and accurately the spiritual meaning underlying these prohibitions and their import in the modern mission apostolate. Absolute poverty is not obligatory for missionaries; indeed, he pointed out, Pope Urban VIII had even dispensed the Reformed Minor Observant missionaries from their vow of poverty in order that they might provide for their necessities, although not for superfluities. Nevertheless, he continued, the spirit of poverty inculcated by Christ in these instructions is an evangelical

counsel which all missionaries might well adopt and practice.

Quoting the words of Christ, "Freely you have received, freely give," he taught that the missionary ought to shun avarice as abominable and to shun even the affection for material goods. Although not obligatory, it is a mark of perfection if he does not take with him even necessary items. Brancati wrote this not simply as a Franciscan who was dedicated to the ideal of poverty; he pointed out that it was a counsel proposed by Christ for all missionaries. Further, he noted that various popes of the century had promoted the ideal of evangelical poverty among missionaries, and that they had strictly interdicted missionaries from engaging in any form of business under pain of excommunication and privation of active and passive voice.¹⁰ The adoption of this ideal, he observed, would more clearly show to infidels that missionaries were seeking the spiritual salvation of souls, not material gain for themselves.

The Cardinal continued with lengthy quotations from St. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians and Romans, in which the Apostle exhorts all ministers of the Gospel to a holy life so that their ministry will not be blamed. These texts contain exhortations to give no offense to anyone, to be patient in trials and tribulations, to be innocent, kind, loving, truthful, honorable, zealous; in a word, to conduct oneself in all circumstances as God's minister. Brancati concludes, "These are the things, it seems to me, which render perfect the man of God and are strong inducements for the conversion of infidels."²⁰

Finally, the Cardinal added an excellent article on the peace and harmony which should be found among missionaries themselves. Discord, contention, or animosity in whatever form ought to be entirely eschewed or rooted out where found. Sometimes, as history teaches, whether from an excess of zeal or vanity (or both) missionaries may disagree concerning the manner of catechizing, the amount that must be learned and believed by the catechumens before Baptism may be given, what is lawful in the rites and customs of pagans, and so forth.²¹ And so discord can arise not only among the mis-

sionaries but also between them and the catechumens, so that the unity of faith is severed and perhaps idolatry, superstition, or even false doctrine arise.

This can happen for two reasons: one, because in the same region are found missionaries of different status; for example, secular priests and religious may be found together, or religious of different orders, who do not have the same outlook, methods, and mode of life. Secondly, it could happen because the missionaries do not have from the sending superior one and the same prescribed formula for acting, so that as a result each one uses his own method. Therefore, Brancati respectfully suggested, the better way is to entrust a province or region to the missionaries of one institute and exclude other institutes from that region, wherever this is possible. The bishop or vicar apostolic should also be from the same institute, if possible. This would prevent the possibility of discord and disagreements arising from this source. Moreover, he recommends that a plan of action for the conversion of different groups—infidels, heretics, Jews—be drawn up and prescribed for all.

In any event, the command to love one another certainly applies to missionaries in a special way, for dissensions are not only a scandal to the faithful and infidel alike, but also the seeds of schism and heresy, as history only too frequently attests. Missionaries ought not deceive themselves that they are differing or arguing over only minor or indifferent matters, for it can easily happen that their animosity deepens until they proceed to disagree over substantial matters, over matters of Faith itself. Thus charity will be extinguished and the work of the missions sabotaged, for "he who does not know how to rule his own household will scarcely be able to rule the Church of God."²²

It has been noted that Brancati "respectfully" suggested a plan for entrusting a region to one institute exclusively and for naming the Ordinary from that institute. The reason for his deference in making this suggestion was that it was contrary to the actual practice of the Propaganda at that time. Generally speaking, after the earlier monopoly of the Jesuits

in the Far East had been abolished, there were no specific areas assigned to individual institutes. The Cardinal's wise proposal was far-reaching and later became the standard practice of the Propaganda, continuing even to the present time.

In the light of what has been presented here, it is difficult to understand why anyone would criticize Brancati on the grounds that he used an arbitrary method in formulating his mission doctrine. First of all, he did not limit himself to the instructions given to the Apostles and disciples, but brought in many other places in Scripture as well as the writings of the Fathers. It is true that he bases much of his missionary doctrine on the example of the Apostles, since he considered missionaries to be their successors in preaching. Two things can be said about basing one's doctrine on the Scriptures: it is a solid foundation on which to build a body of doctrine, but it can also be too restrictive, since the apostolic practice concerned a particular age. Brancati, however, did not restrict his doctrine to that of the Apostles; their example is the paragon and pattern, but he was not enslaved by that pattern. He prescribed, for example, a certain order in which to present Christian doctrine in keeping with the example of the Apostles, but he also admitted that it was not necessary to adhere to that order. He seemed to follow the Apostles in giving Baptism at an early date, but on the other hand counseled against administering Baptism too precipitously.

Furthermore, he included those canons from various Councils and declarations from papal constitutions which affected missionaries. He had composed an *Epitome Canonum*, the value of which can be judged from its many editions. From the study involved in its composition and from the knowledge gained through his various curial positions, it can be said that Brancati knew very well the mind of the Church. He therefore incorporated in his missionary doctrine that adaptation which the Church and popes had prescribed for the life and techniques of missionaries according to changing times and circumstances.²³ He dealt with such matters as the extent of missionaries' jurisdiction, decrees in regard to public dispu-

tations with infidels or heretics, obedience to the superior of the missions in regard to mission methods and means. Implicit, too, is the recognition that for religious missionaries their mode of life was prescribed by their Rule. His teaching in regard to missionaries, therefore, is not based solely on the instructions of Christ to the Apostles and disciples.

A casual reader of this part of Brancati's treatise dealing with the evangelical counsels and missionaries might complain that it is not sufficiently concrete, and therefore not sufficiently practical. Such an observation would be justified to a certain extent. Yet, in this section the Cardinal went to the very heart of the matter and emphasized the spiritual aspect of a missionary's life and apostolate. He did not present practical methods, but gave the basic spiritual principles which must inform any particular method in order to produce results. This section may appear too simple; but it is, like the Gospels from which his teaching is largely drawn, at once simple and profound. Here, as in so many other places in his mission treatise, can be seen Brancati's tacit, yet clearly discernible, intention of not only instructing future missionaries intellectually but of forming them spiritually. More practical considerations will be found in the following section.

Practical Recommendations for Evangelization

In the last of the three disputations Cardinal Brancati considers some very practical problems confronting the missionary upon his arrival in his destined mission. The undertaking of any new work in strange and unfamiliar surroundings requires careful thought and preparation in order to bring about the best results. A missionary going into a foreign land suddenly finds himself among complete strangers who speak a different tongue, whose mentality and customs may differ greatly from those of his own country. Perhaps the natives have heard of Christ and the Christian religion, perhaps not; how then should he proceed in the work of evangelization? Should he suddenly appear in their temples or forums and begin to proclaim that the Catholic Faith is true and

that their religion is false and will lead them to perdition? These and similar questions are now considered by Brancati.

At the very outset he treats the dispositive means and especially the spiritual dispositive means. Since the missionary is the human instrument used by God in the work of conversion, he should prepare himself so that he may become as nearly perfect as possible. Since the work to be performed is spiritual, the means to be used are spiritual also. In the first place, the missionary should prepare himself for his mission by fasting and prayer. In this he should be guided by the example of Christ Himself, who spent forty days in fast and prayer before He began His public ministry. Likewise the Apostles spent the time between Our Lord's Ascension and Pentecost persevering in prayer before they began their ministry.

The need for prayer is repeatedly emphasized in the Scriptures and in the sayings and writings of the saints. The missionary should pray for himself that God may grant him sufficient strength to begin, carry on, and successfully conclude the work entrusted to him; he should also pray for those to whom he will preach in order that they may listen to him attentively and, by the grace of God, be converted. In his prayer he should firmly resolve not to trust in himself or his own powers of knowledge or eloquence or art of disputing, but in the power of God alone. The work of conversion is primarily the work of God, Who touches the heart and mind of the listener; the missionary is only the helper of God who proposes the word externally. It is not the external speaking of man, but the internal inspiration of God, which converts whom He wills.²⁴

Another part of this initial preparation of the missionary is to prepare himself for resisting temptation with the help of God. Besides watching and praying that he may not fall into those temptations common to all men, he should especially gird himself against these special temptations: vainglory in case his work bears much fruit, despair if it bears little; the fear of persecution or of a lack of the necessities of life;

finally, against the fear that his mission is not making satisfactory progress.²⁵

Since the lack of the state of grace would be highly incongruous for one who is about to preach the Author of grace, the missionary should receive the Sacrament of Penance before preaching, in order that this work may be spiritually profitable to himself as well as to his listeners. Moreover, since example persuades men more than words, he ought to make sure that the example of his life, his habits, and his actions are in keeping with his doctrine. Let him first do and then teach, as did Christ; otherwise his preaching will be in vain.

A very useful means to dispose the people to his preaching is to show beneficence to all, even to Gentiles. This includes caring for their corporal needs as well as for their spiritual needs as far as can be reasonably done. By showing charity, the door will be opened for the introduction of the Gospel. Such means can always be used even if the language of a particular people should not yet be known. That was the way St. Francis Xavier acted among the people of India, and he himself said that the hand (that is, beneficence) was more effective than the tongue.

A clear knowledge of the mentality, culture, and religious views of the people to whom he will preach will prove invaluable in introducing Christianity and adapting it to their way of life. The successes or failures of earlier missionaries in the territory, and the causes for them, will also be of assistance to him.

The initial preaching. Since often there will be a difference both in method and in content between the initial and subsequent preaching, each is considered separately by Brancati. It is possible that God may move the missionary to initiate his mission by correcting some error, by speaking about the necessity of faith, or perhaps by denouncing some vice, or something similar. If God should move him in this extraordinary way, he should of course begin his preaching as moved by God. Ordinarily, however, he should begin in circumstances which he chooses as suitable and fitting.

It must be borne in mind that a different approach should be used as regards Gentiles, Jews, and heretics; for they are guided by different principles. Likewise it should be noted that not all his listeners will have the same capacity for understanding. No definite and universal rule can be given as to the method of proceeding in catechizing different groups; the missionary must determine this himself according to the circumstances. God uses many and diverse means to bring men to Himself. Some examples are given by Brancati as an indication of how one might proceed.²⁶

If, for example, the number of gods should be brought up in conversation, the missionary might seize the occasion to show that there can be but one true God; if the subject of the truth of religion is mentioned, he could discuss the truth of the Christian religion; if the prophets who are venerated by some infidels are being considered, he could teach them the nature of true prophets and prophecies; if some particular virtue is being examined, he could point out its greater excellence in the Christian religion; the question of rites would give him the opportunity to explain and extol Christian rites; the topic of priesthood and sacrifice, the occasion to explain their higher meaning as instituted by Christ; the extent of the obligation of charity will afford him the chance to show the excellence of this supreme Christian virtue.

Through observation the missionary himself will be able to discover innumerable occasions for a suitable beginning. In all of this he should speak in a modest manner, not ridiculing their rites or customs, yet pointing out their lack of efficacy. His teaching should not be confined to truths of the speculative order; he should connect with these the Christian manner of living, so that drawn by the grace of God, the people will gradually come to embrace his teaching. In the beginning he need not disturb himself over the order of his presentation of the articles of faith, but should note what interests and attracts them so that he may capitalize on it.

Subsequent preaching. All of the above is not to be considered as formal evangelization, but simply as a means of awakening an interest in the Christian religion and drawing

the infidels either by a love of Christian virtue or of Christian law. Once he has succeeded in disposing some to become Christian, he should not immediately propose all the truths which they must believe lest they simply become overwhelmed and confused. Let him begin to teach them gradually, beginning with the mysteries of God such as the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, eternal life, and the necessity of Baptism. Following the example of St. Paul, who gave to the Corinthians, as to small ones in Christ, milk before solid food, he ought to accommodate himself to his audience and teach them the more easy and simple truths before going on to those more difficult.

At first glance there is a little uncertainty as to how much Brancati taught was necessary to believe before Baptism. It is certain that he insisted on the necessity of catechumens knowing and believing that God is one in essence and the rewarder of men in eternal life; also that they should believe in the Trinity of Persons; finally, that they should believe in the Incarnation of the Second Person and the necessity of Baptism for salvation.²⁷ This he deduces from the words of Our Lord when He sent the Apostles to preach to the whole world, as well as from the example given in the Acts of the Apostles, wherein some Jews were baptized after the proposal of only these truths.²⁸

He notes with evident approval the policy of St. Paul, who gave to the Corinthians simpler truths before more difficult ones.²⁹ And so, he says, the Apostles did not immediately oblige converts before their conversion to know or believe distinctly and explicitly all things which are credible, but only the Trinity and Incarnation; for Peter on several occasions preached nothing other than Christ, and the Jews believing in Him were baptized, even though it was necessary to teach them the rest later.³⁰ The same policy should be followed today, he concludes, since the relationship of modern infidels to the Church is the same as that of the neophytes in the primitive Church.³¹ First, therefore, they should be taught the principal doctrines, and afterwards the rest.³² Thus it would seem that the knowledge of only these cardinal truths

is required by Brancati before the baptism of infidel converts.

Brancati continues and declares that the missionary should instruct well-disposed catechumens in the articles of Faith as contained in the Creed, according to the catechism published at the command of Pope Paul V.³³ The Creed, which contains the principal mysteries of Faith, is the foundation and very sign of Christianity; therefore, it ought to be proposed to the catechumen in the early stages of conversion. If the catechumen continues to persevere in his will of conversion, the more notable truths of both Testaments of Scripture should be proposed to him, according to his capacity, in a summary way. The prospective convert should also be taught all that to which the Christian law obliges, so that he may know to what yoke he submits his neck.³⁴

Further, the doctrine of justification through Baptism and at other times through contrition should be taught to the catechumen in a simple and brief way.³⁵ Finally, Brancati declares that according to the capacity of the catechumen and the time the missionary has at his disposal, he ought to propose all things which Catholics believe, both explicitly and implicitly, as well as the Sacraments and other matters according to the formula for the profession of Faith.³⁶ This last statement is in the nature of an all-inclusive formula which requires converts to be thoroughly Catholic, believing all that the Church teaches; otherwise their conversion will avail them nothing.

At first, therefore, it would seem that Brancati requires only the principal truths of the Christian religion to be learned before Baptism, leaving the rest to be learned afterwards. On the other hand, he does not say unequivocally that only these specific truths are required before the reception of this Sacrament. The solution lies in the fact that Brancati is primarily occupied with the order in which the various truths of religion should be proposed and teaches that the Trinity, Incarnation, and the necessity of Baptism should be taken up in the very beginning. This is confirmed from the fact that he says that all the other truths should be taught to the "catechumens," that is, to those not yet baptized.³⁷

Also, Brancati says that the catechizing should be done for at least twenty days, or even longer if they are incapable of being taught all within that period; Jews, however, should be catechized for eight months.³⁸ The reason he gives is that, within this length of time the missionary will be able to explain not only the articles of Faith and the precepts to be observed, but also the more outstanding matters of the Bible.³⁹ Finally, he warns missionaries against administering Baptism too quickly. A course of instructions and the mere request for Baptism is not sufficient; he demands that the missionaries make sure that the catechumens truly believe the Christian Faith and that they really want to be Christians. This is to be learned more from their perseverance in Christian works and living than from their own words. It has happened that certain infidels, suffering from some illness, have sought Baptism because they thought that it might cure them. Because they lacked the right intention and due disposition, they misused the Sacrament. The missionary, therefore, must be vigilant lest such abuses arise.⁴⁰

For the above reasons, therefore, it seems that Brancati simply intended to say that when infidels wish to become Christians, they should not be taught all at once and at great length. They should be taught first the unity and trinity of God, the Incarnation, the need for Baptism, and eternal life. Then the other truths should be taught to them—all of this taking place before Baptism.

The question is then asked: should instruction be given to all in the same way? In answering, Brancati distinguishes between the content of the instruction and its method or form. As far as the doctrinal content is concerned, the Faith must be proposed to all, whole and entire. The Faith is one; there is one creed and one Christian law for all. It cannot be changed, added to, nor subtracted from. Therefore, the entire content of Faith should be taught to all.

It is evident, however, that those commonly called infidels are not all alike. Some are learned, others are unlearned; therefore, the instruction should be adapted to their mentality and intellectual ability. Though a more formal instruction

should be given to the learned, a simple narration of the articles of Faith and the more important matters is sufficient for the unlearned.

In catechizing, vain eloquence and subtle philosophical reasoning ought to be avoided. Instead, the Word of God should be proposed in simple, intelligible language accommodated to the capacity of the people to understand and without useless rhetoric.⁴¹

Aside from intellectual differences there are other differences also. Some infidels accept only the Old Testament, some the New Testament as well, but rejecting Councils, Tradition, and decrees of the Holy See. Some do not accept Christian teaching at all; among these Brancati distinguishes different groups, such as Mohammedans, idol worshippers, and others. Because of this they must be instructed differently, for the reasons which will convince one group will have no influence upon another. Different motives of credibility of belief should be used with different peoples, choosing those which will be more acceptable and more influential with them. Even though the conversion of an infidel and his act of believing is a gift of God, by Whom he is moved and called internally, there are also subjective motives inducing one to accept the Faith. Many things in Catholic teaching are difficult, even impossible, to understand fully (mysteries), and men require reasons for giving assent to these. Brancati gives ten motives of credibility which can be used to persuade different types of non-believers.⁴²

Conformity with the will of God. Cardinal Brancati concludes his mission treatise by giving counsel to the missionary concerning the progress of his work. After a number of years and many labors in the missions, he observes, it can happen that little or no fruit is evident. The people may seem not only indisposed but positively adverse to accepting the Christian Faith. Provided he has done all he can by way of prayer, work, and edification of life, the missionary should not be disturbed by his apparent failure, but leave it all to the incomprehensible judgment of God, to Whom he ought to conform his will. He should consider three things:

- 1) the missionary is a simple minister and servant of God in the ministry of preaching;
- 2) it is not so much the external preaching as the internal inspiration of God calling which converts men to the Faith;
- 3) the missionary will receive his reward according to the measure of his labor and the difficulties involved, even though there is little or no fruit.

To the missionary is committed the external work with its dangers and difficulties and inconveniences, but not the conversion itself, which is the work of God. While love of neighbor will move him to sorrow because of their blindness and hardness of heart, he can rejoice that he has labored as God has given him to labor and pray that they may be converted at a later date, if it so please God. Not even the Lord Himself converted all to whom He preached; the servant is not above the master. Let him be conformed to the will of God and, shunning pessimism, undertake his work elsewhere with a holy optimism, keeping in mind that, while the negligent will be punished, there will be a great reward in store for the faithful missionary.

CHAPTER V
COMPARISON BETWEEN THE WORKS
OF
ACOSTA AND BRANCATI

The celebrated work of Jose de Acosta, S.J. *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* is well known among missiologists.¹ Acosta was one of the first to write at length on the principles underlying sound missionary doctrine both in a theoretical and practical manner. The value of his work was soon recognized and it was widely circulated. Many of the later works on the missions, written both by Catholic and Protestant theologians, were based on this book of Acosta.² Because of its importance and influence, some comparison should be made between it and the mission treatise of Cardinal Brancati.

Purpose and Circumstances of Composition

It is impossible to compare these two works on the same basis. For one thing, the work of Acosta is separate and complete in itself. Even greater reasons for disparity are to be found in the dissimilar backgrounds of the two writers, in the different purposes which each had in mind when writing, and also to some extent in the different stages of development of missionary organization at the time of writing.

Acosta spent fourteen years in the missions in Peru and composed his book in 1576, although it was not published until 1588. He had actual missionary experience in the varying roles of professor, writer, preacher, counselor, and superior. As provincial of the Jesuit province in Peru he had visited the entire region and had gained a broad knowledge of the missionary problems there. He had formerly taught theology, and because he was endowed with this two-fold knowledge gained from study and experience, he was invited

to attend the Third Council of Lima as theologian. By reason of his background he was well equipped to write a book on the missions.

As the title of his book suggests, he wrote concerning the missions among the Indians, especially among those in Peru of whom he had direct knowledge. Because so many people at the time had such varying and false ideas about Indian matters which were prejudicial to missions among them, he set out to show that the Indians could be converted and saved. Many at the time took a pessimistic view of the possibility of the Indians' salvation, and against this harmful viewpoint Acosta sought to show that missions to them were not only possible but necessary, and he pointed out the ways and means to accomplish their conversion and salvation.³ There were many new problems for missionaries to the New World and Acosta set about to solve these as well. His work is primarily practical, therefore, since he had a practical end in mind: the salvation of the Indians. As Streit says, "he wrote from practice for practice."⁴ Since the mission object with which this book is concerned is decidedly particular, some matters are applicable only to the Indians or other similar primitives. At the same time many of the principles formulated in it are of value in other areas and among other peoples.

Brancati, on the other hand, had never been in mission areas and could not write from mission experience. For that reason his writing is somewhat divorced from reality. Lacking actual knowledge of mission conditions, he used the best sources otherwise available for a mission theory, basing it on Scripture and Tradition and at times on sound psychological principles as well. Moreover, the mission object for Brancati was universal, including all infidels, heretics, schismatics, and Jews. Therefore, he designated only the general principles which are applicable in most circumstances without adapting them to specific peoples or areas. This does not imply that Acosta excluded heretics and schismatics *a priori* from the object of the missions; he simply did not mention them, since it was not in keeping with his purpose. However, the difference in latitude of the mission object restricted Brancati to a

general or universal formulation of mission principles; whereas Acosta applied these to a given people, the Indians of the New World. Finally, Brancati wrote about fifty years after the founding of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and so includes some matters which arose after its foundation.

Comparison of Contents

For the reasons outlined above, the contents of the two works are not wholly the same. Acosta devoted the first of the six books which comprise his work to showing the possibility of salvation for the Indians despite their barbaric nature, their low intelligence, the long distance from Europe, the difficulty of the language, and other obstacles. Another entire book concerns the method of catechizing these childish people and the minimum requirements for the administration of the Sacraments to them. He pleads for patience, understanding, and prudence in dealing with these people of low culture. And because the Spanish king had been entrusted with the duty of promoting the Gospel and Catholic Faith in the lands discovered by Spanish explorers, Acosta discussed the civil administration of the Spanish colony insofar as it affected the missionary apostolate. All of these were particular problems with which Cardinal Brancati was not concerned. Yet these matters take up three of the six books of *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*. On the other hand, there is no history of the propagation of the Faith in Acosta's work, nor the historical role played by the popes in this matter. Likewise we find no attempt to show the status of the missions in the world at that time. These two points were in keeping with the purpose that Brancati had in mind, but not with that of Acosta.

Apart from the above matters, the contents compare quite favorably, although the questions are not treated in the same way; Acosta always speaks primarily about the Indian missions while Brancati has in mind the missions in general. The period in which each wrote also influenced the manner of

treatment to some extent. This can be seen, for example, in the way each treats the missionary obligation. Acosta regards it from the point of view of the mission object and argues that God wills the salvation of all men and therefore wills the salvation of the Indians.⁵ The necessity of the missionary apostolate is found in the universal salvific will of God. But Acosta does not concern himself with any real demonstration of the subjects obliged to undertake the missions. He simply notes that no one who calls himself Catholic denies that the Roman Pontiffs have the authority to promulgate the Gospel throughout the whole world, that they have fulfilled their duty in this regard, and that they have now delegated the fulfillment of it to the kings of Spain.⁶ Acosta did not find it necessary to dwell at length on the rights or obligations of the popes in this matter, for it was accepted by his readers. Moreover, the promulgation of the Gospel among the Indians in Peru was being provided by the Spanish kings, to whom both the right and obligation were delegated by the Church. Since it was being fulfilled satisfactorily at the time, there was no need for Acosta to demonstrate this obligation on the part of the pope, kings, religious orders, or others. Writing at a later date, however, when the evils of this system of state missions came into the open, and when therefore the Holy See wished to assume greater control over the missions in order to overcome these evils, Brancati emphasized more the rights of the popes to send out missionaries rather than their obligation to do so. The latter insists emphatically and repeatedly that the Roman Pontiffs, and only they, have the right to institute missions.⁷ Thus did the circumstances of the times influence the treatment of the same subjects in these two works.

Both Acosta and Brancati consider the office of missionary and its excellence. Acosta does not use the term "missionary" but speaks of this office in such terms as *ministri Evangelii*, the *praedicatores Evangelici*, or simply speaks of the *sacerdos* or *parochus*.⁸ The term *missionarius* came into use later, probably during the discussions in Rome prior to the foundation of the Congregation of the Propaganda.⁹ Acosta does not ex-

plicitly treat the duty of the missionary or the purpose for which he was sent, but his ideas on this subject can be learned from various passages in his work. He speaks about the *salus Indorum*, the *propagatio Evangelii*, the *praedicatio Fidei*, and *praedicatio Evangelii*.¹⁰ In discussing the formal object of the mission according to Acosta, Father Lopetegui, S.J. says that the more abundant and dominant expressions are those which refer to the propagation of the Faith and the promulgation of the Gospel with an explicit reference to the salvation of souls.¹¹ He also says that the idea of the founding of the Church is not explicitly mentioned, though it is implicitly contained in the ideas of Acosta regarding the activity of the missionaries. The primary object which attracted the attention of missionaries was not for Acosta the implantation of the Church, but the propagation of the Faith and Gospel. As we have already seen, Brancati taught that the duty of the missionary was to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments according to the faculties given to him. The idea of the *implantatio Ecclesiae* was neither fundamental nor dominant in his theory. Still perhaps he is a little closer to the modern idea of the specific end of the missions to establish the Church where it is not, when he says,

Alius enim non est missionum finis, quam alias oves, quae extra ovile Ecclesiae sunt, ad ovile Ecclesiae sub uno Pastore reducere, easdemque per viam salutis deducere ac regere.¹²

Although it is possible to bring into the Church those who are outside it without necessarily establishing the Church hierarchically, the idea of hierarchical organization is implied by Brancati when he goes on to say that the end of the mission also includes ruling and leading the faithful on the path of salvation. He does not, therefore, limit the missionary's duty to a simple preaching of the Faith and administration of the Sacraments. Implicit in his statement is also the idea of the founding of the Church, although it must be admitted that the Cardinal did not phrase the purpose of the mission in such terms.

Acosta defines his use of the term "mission" as follows:

Missiones vero intelligo eas excursiones et peregrinationes, quae oppidatim verbi divini causa suscipiuntur, quarum et usus et auctoritas longe major est.¹³

The term is very restricted and so is not in great use with Acosta, since he intends by it only those excursions or travels from one town to another undertaken in order to preach the Gospel. In this sense it differs from the activity of the missionary who carries on his apostolate in one place. As can readily be seen, Acosta uses the term in only one of its many meanings today.

In treating the qualities of missionaries, Acosta had in mind those particular qualities required of missionaries among the Indians. As a result he singles out for special emphasis those which missionaries to these people should have: patience, constancy, chastity, detachment from material things. Naturally his insistence upon these virtues does not imply that others were not necessary. Father Lopetegui, S.J. writes that Acosta required a series of spiritual and intellectual requisites such as would be necessary for any true apostle, but since he was concerned especially with the problems among the missionary personnel in this difficult mission area, he took a realistic viewpoint and insisted upon certain minimum requirements rather than demanding too much.¹⁴

A good example of this is found in Acosta's teaching on the amount of doctrine required of missionaries. Because the missionary must teach men, he writes, ignorance in him is inexcusable. For the missionaries among the Indians, however, he says that prudence and an understanding of Indian customs and manners are of greater importance and value than the learning of the schools. While in no way contemning theological learning for the pastors of the Indians, he nevertheless is satisfied if they know well the form of catechetical instruction to be followed, the order to be observed in administering the Sacraments, the minimum requirements for absolution, what sins are reserved, the privileges given to the neophytes by the popes, and such other matters as were prescribed by the Pro-

vincial Council of Lima.¹⁵ Considering the intellectual capacity of the Indians to be similar to that of children, he teaches that pastors will be fulfilling their duty if they teach the Indians what is contained in the catechism of the Council of Trent.

In all fairness to Acosta it must be recognized that he is concerned only with the missionaries among the Indians of the New World, whom some men of the time denied were human, so low were their intelligence and morals. Nevertheless, it must be said that Brancati requires a higher standard of learning for missionaries. Having in mind missionaries in general, he lays down the principle that no one can be considered worthy for the missions unless he is very well instructed in the teachings of the Church.¹⁶ Both Acosta and Brancati note the importance of having learned theologians in each mission to whom other missionaries may go for a solution of their doubts and difficulties. In addition Brancati requires a good preparation from each one. This is in itself a higher standard, and in this he is to be lauded. We might note that Brancati had been regent of studies for several colleges of the Conventual Franciscan Order and was at the time of writing both a professor of theology at the Sapienza and Prefect of Studies at the Propaganda. Insistence upon studies and learning, therefore, were not something foreign to the Cardinal.

Thus Brancati is closer to the standard demanded by Pope Benedict XV in his Apostolic Letter "Maximum Illud" in which the Pope requires a careful preparation for all missionaries without distinction. Conceding that the possession of virtue is of greater worth than the possession of learning for the conversion of souls, he nevertheless points out that unless he is well instructed, the missionary will very often feel the lack of means for a fruitful ministry. The Pope also notes that often it can happen that the missionary may be called upon to answer objections and difficulties at a time or place when he will be unable to consult either men or books. Lastly the Pope speaks about the value of erudition in those regions where it is esteemed.¹⁷ Neither Brancati nor Pope Benedict XV make any distinction in the region or the level of culture of the people among whom the missionary will labor. It is

clearly better to have a thorough preparation for each missionary as well as a few learned doctors in the missions than to be satisfied with a modicum of knowledge and training for the individual missionary and reliance upon the few more learned theologians in their midst. Brancati states the principle regarding the intellectual preparation of missionaries better than does Acosta.

For the reason, too, that Brancati was discussing the qualities of missionaries destined for any part of the world, his treatment of these qualities is more complete. Likewise, Brancati's treatment of the qualities of missionaries is more systematic than that of Acosta. As pointed out before, he divided them into the natural, moral, and supernatural qualities and discussed all of them under these headings. Acosta, on the other hand, discusses the qualities of missionaries in different books insofar as they are related to other points on which he writes.¹⁸ He does not treat the qualities of missionaries systematically in one place as does Brancati, but scattered throughout various places in his work.

Both Acosta and Brancati counsel a good knowledge of the people and their customs. Of the two, Acosta lays even greater stress upon this point than does Brancati. Acosta writes:

Ac modo probatae ille vitae laude floreret atque locutionis Indicae facultate non careret, cum viros haberet, quos tuto in gravioribus causis consuleret, non magnopere ego scholarum apparatus, reconditamque illam doctrinam in eiusmodi Indorum Parocho desiderarem, quippe cuius munus magis prudentia quadam, atque ingenii, morumque Indicorum peritia constet, quam subtiliori literatura.¹⁹

For Acosta more important than theoretical knowledge was the practical knowledge of the character and temperament of the Indians, and the prudence to be able to adapt missionary means to their character and temperament. Much of his mission theory, in so far as it refers to the missionaries themselves, is bound up in this single sentence. A good moral life, a knowledge of the Indian language, a minimum sufficiency

of learning for the individual missionary, and above all an understanding of the Indians—this sums up what Acosta required for missionaries in Peru. The emphasis upon an understanding knowledge of the Indian character and adaptation to it was dictated by Acosta's own experience among them. Cardinal Brancati actually makes no comparison between the importance of theological knowledge and this practical knowledge of the people in order to evaluate the superiority of one or the other. We have seen that he does emphasize studies and learning more than Acosta, but he does not attempt to determine the relative superiority of one over the other. Without actual mission experience he could not very well do so, and so he is silent on this point.

Both Acosta and Brancati insert in their works pertinent ecclesiastical legislation of general and provincial Councils. Acosta makes particular use of the decrees of the Council of Lima, since they pertained directly to the Indians. Writing almost a century later, Brancati also includes the subsequent missionary legislation such as decrees of the popes and of the Congregation of the Propaganda.

Both Acosta and Brancati avail themselves of the excellent and timeless principles of catechizing formulated by St. Augustine in his *De Catechizandis Rudibus*. The length of time for the catechumenate is not determined specifically by either one. While Brancati sets a minimum time limit, he also teaches that Baptism should not be administered until the missionary is morally certain that the catechumen has sufficient instruction and a sincere intention. Acosta sets no definite time but warns that, due to the low intelligence of the Indians, the missionary must persevere for a long time in order to make certain that they are sufficiently instructed. As for the things required for belief before Baptism, both hold the common doctrine except that Acosta demands explicit belief in Christ as well, which was more rigid than the teaching of most theologians.²⁰ It is worthy of note that the Cardinal passes over in silence the amount of knowledge required for Baptism in the case of those in proximate danger of death.

Being acquainted with this problem from actual missionary experience, Acosta includes it.

On the subject of an indigenous clergy Brancati has nothing. The reason for its omission is difficult to say and we will not hazard a guess. Acosta does include the matter but finds the outlook dark for the establishment of a native clergy among the Indians due to their inferior intelligence and morals. He admits that only rarely could an Indian be found who would be worthy of the priesthood. Practically speaking, therefore, the greater majority of them could not be admitted to the ministry except in such capacity as altar servers, sacristans, or singers.²¹

The question of the use of military means in the mission apostolate was discussed by both Brancati and Acosta. Although this may strike the modern reader as anomalous, it must be remembered that the objective of the kings of Spain and Portugal was both to colonize and evangelize the lands discovered. Neither writer discussed the morality of the use of force in colonizing; not because it was unimportant, but because such a topic had no place in a mission treatise. They wrote only on the morality of the use of military force insofar as it related to missionary endeavor.

As far as missionaries themselves were concerned, there was no problem: both taught emphatically that war, or any other kind of force used to bring infidels to accept the Faith, was absolutely forbidden. It would be most unbecoming and contradictory for missionaries, who are legates of the Prince of Peace, to use any kind of force or violence in propagating the Faith, wrote Brancati. Missionaries should follow the apostolic method of preaching the Gospel in peace and charity.²²

Acosta also admitted that the apostolic method should be used by missionaries. At the same time, he stated, it was simply impossible to use this method exclusively among the Indians, because they were without mercy and untrustworthy. In their manners and morals they were more like animals than men: without mercy, recognizing no agreements, observing no rights toward strangers or visitors, not even observing the

natural law among themselves. So low was their understanding and observance of morality, said Acosta, that one might better try to make friends with wild boars and crocodiles than to try to deal with the Indians on rational grounds alone. Long experience had proven abundantly that it was the height of imprudence to go among most of the Indian tribes of the New World deprived of all protection; for where this was done, the Indians invariably put the missionaries to death. The missionaries could not even hope for the reward of martyrdom, since it was not out of hatred for the Faith of Christ that the Indians killed them. Furthermore, since miracles were of less frequent occurrence than in the days of the Apostles, their method of preaching the Gospel could not be used exclusively.²³

Acosta did not advocate active warfare against the Indians. Indeed, he taught that it was unlawful to wage war against infidels except when they were the aggressors.²⁴ It was not lawful to take up arms against infidels because of their unbelief or crimes against nature, as some had contended; neither was it lawful to avenge the slaughter of innocent Christians by infidels.²⁵

Yet, like other men, explained Acosta, missionaries have from the natural law the right to enter into the territories of infidels in a peaceful manner. They have this same right from the law of Christ, Who commanded that the Gospel be preached to all men throughout the world. In travelling in the territories of infidels, missionaries have a right to whatever protection is necessary in order to safeguard their lives. Experience showed the necessity of such protection for missionaries among the Indians. Wherever it was possible, missionaries should use the apostolic method; but if they could not rely on peaceful means alone, they should see to it that the Indians are treated as kindly and mercifully as possible in pacifying them.²⁶

For Acosta the use of force was regarded as a necessary evil in the Indian apostolate. Yet he would have it used sparingly, only when necessary, and only to the degree necessary. The cruelty of the Indians and their infidelity in keep-

ing treaties constrained the missionaries to avail themselves of the protection of the army. Acosta's teaching was realistic and based on actual experience. He carefully distinguished between the role of the missionary and the soldiers accompanying him; all use of force was forbidden to the former, the latter could lawfully use force only for self-protection, not for conquest under the pretext of religion.

In his mission treatise, Brancati noted that he was speaking about missionaries, not about civil leaders, whose role in the mission apostolate he discussed in another place.²⁷ Christian princes, he taught, could not wage war on infidels on the pretext that they wished to destroy idolatry. He admitted one exception: if infidels refused to allow missionaries into their territory to preach the Gospel; or, once admitted, refused to let them preach and expelled them for the attempt to preach, then Christian princes could take up arms against them in order that the Christian Faith might be preached there.²⁸

Referring to the Crusades, Brancati taught that Christian princes could justly and licitly wage war against infidels occupying Christian lands in order to recover them. He also permitted Christian princes, with the consent of the pope, to avenge ridicule and blasphemy of the Christian Faith, or the tyrannical treatment of Christians by infidel rulers. This last provision, which seems to differ from Acosta's teaching, refers to a different circumstance; Brancati was here referring to the rights of Catholic princes in strife-ridden Europe after the Protestant Reformation, and he refers to the maintenance of peace and safeguarding of the Catholic Faith in their territories rather than to the propagation of the Faith.

As far as mission work is concerned, Acosta and Brancati are in basic agreement that peaceful means should be used, and that force may be tolerated only for assuring that the Gospel may be preached to infidels, not for imposing the Gospel upon them against their will.

The above comparison of the contents and teaching of these two works of Acosta and Brancati justify the conclusion that the contents are not entirely similar. About one-half of Acosta's work contains matter with which Brancati is in no

way concerned, such as the peculiar obstacles of the Indian missions, the civil administration of these Spanish colonies, and the particular problems concerning the administration of the Sacraments to the Indians. Even when they treat of the same subject, they differ in the viewpoint from which they consider it, and consequently in its length and manner of development. Acosta, for instance, treats at length and in several places the necessity of knowing the language of the Indians.²⁹ Cardinal Brancati gives it a short but thorough treatment from a theoretical point of view. Such an obvious necessity would hardly seem to warrant such a lengthy treatment. Very likely Acosta, who had experienced the actual difficulties in the Peruvian missions, emphasized this evident need not so much to teach as to convince future missionaries to the Indians of its absolute need. It is an indication of the value of a book written by a missionary who has had actual experience in the field.³⁰

Again, Acosta devotes an entire book to mission methods, whereas Brancati treats this in one article. Both write on the excellence of the missionary vocation; the requirements for this vocation; the need of prayer, a good life, and example; the need of beneficence and charity; the method of catechizing. They generally agree in principle except where we have noted above. Always, however, Acosta addresses himself to the Indian missions while Brancati writes on the missions in general.

Comparison of Sources and Method

The sources that each used are quite the same in general, but not in particular. Both based their teaching on the Sacred Scriptures, the Fathers, general and provincial Councils, historical sources; to all of which Acosta added his own rich mission experience.³¹ Brancati's work is further developed in canonical legislation regarding missionaries; he includes some decrees or instructions which had their origin after the time of Acosta. Acosta's work is the fruit of study and observation; Brancati's is the fruit of study almost exclusively.³² The

former's work is therefore more practical than theoretical, while the latter's is more theoretical than practical. Father Lopetegui, S.J. writes that the subject matter of Acosta's work is varied and profound, treating not all possible questions but those which were essential and important, making a practical application of dogma and moral to a particular place and time. This writer also finds the work to be clear in thought, firm, sincere, and objective, without sacrificing enthusiasm for the cause of the salvation of the Indians. To the question of its completeness as a tract on missiology, the same author responds with a distinction: it was a complete missiological tract for the American Indian missions, but not for others such as those of the Far East; nevertheless, he says, Acosta treated the principal themes of dogmatic and biblical missionary theology.³³ We have already pointed out that Brancati's treatise was not a complete and separate entity by itself, nor was it intended to be, for the points not treated in it could be found in other places in his *Commentaria* or his theological works. Nor was it intended to be practical in the sense that it would be used in the actual exercise of the missionary apostolate; it was intended for the formation of missionaries. For this reason we say that it is more theoretical than practical.

None of the modern commentators on Acosta's work seem to consider whether or not the tract is systematic in itself; instead, they generally note that it is less systematic than the *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium* of Thomas a Jesu.³⁴ P. Charles, S.J. says simply that he treats dogmatic missiological questions with a truly remarkable erudition and logic.³⁵ We agree with the characterization of Father Charles in regard to Acosta's work; we will postpone discussion of the other judgment on its relative lack of system until after the work of Thomas a Jesu has been seen in the following chapter.

Here it can be said, however, that we find the work of Brancati to be more systematic than that of Acosta. The latter's work is divided into six books, each of which is divided into chapters. But there are no further subdivisions, not even into paragraphs, at least not in the edition of 1596. Acosta

wrote in a prose style, interlacing his argumentation with quotations from Scripture, the Fathers, pagan classical authors also at times—which arrangement makes it difficult to locate his own thought and teaching. Moreover, the same subject, such as the qualities of missionaries and the need of knowing the Indian language, is found scattered in different chapters. The system used by Brancati was, as noted previously, that of the Scholastic method; first the proposing of a question, giving the status of it, and then Brancati's own teaching and the proofs for it. Each subject is treated separately and thoroughly in its own place. Hence it is more systematic than the work of Acosta.

One last point requires comment: namely, the question of any dependence of Brancati on this work of Acosta. Apparently there is no direct dependence; in fact, it is doubtful if Brancati had ever seen this work of Acosta, for nowhere does he refer to it in his treatise. Perhaps he knew indirectly of its existence from the work of Thomas a Jesu, who borrowed a great deal from Acosta, and whose work Brancati did know. This seems to be the only point of contact, and even this is not an argument for any direct influence. The contents of Brancati's treatise and Acosta's tract are only partly the same, and even this similarity can be easily explained by the fact that they both wrote on the subject of the missions. The form of the two works is entirely different. For these reasons it can be said that Brancati apparently drew nothing from the work of Acosta.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE WORKS OF THOMAS A JESU AND BRANCATI

Thomas a Jesu and His Work

The second work chosen for comparison with the mission treatise of Cardinal Brancati is that of the Carmelite, Thomas a Jesu, entitled *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*.¹ Thomas a Jesu was born in Baeza, a city of Andalusia in Spain, in the year 1564 and entered the Order of the Discalced Carmelites in 1586. Since he had already obtained the doctorate in both philosophy and theology before his entrance into the Order, he was assigned to teach theology at Seville after his ordination to the priesthood in 1589. In turn he was elected Prior of the convent at Saragossa and provincial of the province of Old Castile. As a member of a contemplative order, he was originally and for some twenty years opposed to the idea of the mission apostolate for members of the Carmelite Order, for it seemed to him to be incompatible with the eremitical life of contemplation which he sought to restore.²

He suddenly reversed his opinion in this matter in 1606 and became a zealous promoter of the missionary cause, even proposing a third Carmelite congregation whose end would be exclusively missionary. He went to Rome in 1608 and there collaborated for two years with his confrere, Pietro della Madre di Dio, the General Superintendent of the Missions in the Clementine congregation, which was a forerunner of the Propaganda. During these two years he visited many libraries in Rome, gathering material for a book, which was published in 1610 under the title *Stimulus Missionum*. The purpose of this book was to arouse interest and zeal for the missions not only among his fellow Carmelites but among all religious. In it he took up and developed the arguments of two other con-

freres, Girolamo Graziano and Giovanni di Gesu-Maria, explaining the motives which ought to induce religious to dedicate themselves to missionary activity.

This book was, in the intention of Thomas a Jesu, merely the first portion of a much larger and more universal volume already planned: namely, *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*. In fact, the thought contained in the former work is found in the first, second, and twelfth books of the *De Procuranda*.³ The publication of this larger work was delayed for three years, because in 1610 Pope Paul V sent him to found religious houses of his order in France, Belgium, and Germany. Consequently, it was not published until 1613 at Antwerp, Belgium. So great was the interest aroused by it that a second edition was published in the same year.⁴

The *De Procuranda* of Thomas a Jesu was requested and widely circulated from the first years of its publication. The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith, in a session of the twenty-sixth of March, 1624, decided to buy eighty copies of the book to give to missionaries.⁵ The General Chapter of the Discalced Carmelite Order of 1632 was requested by the same Congregation to prepare a new edition of it because of its great utility for the missions.⁶ The same wish was expressed by the Supreme Pontiff, Urban VIII, to the Carmelite Fathers in the same year.⁷ The work became well known in mission circles, both Catholic and Protestant, and the fame of Thomas a Jesu as a missiologist grew in proportion to the extent of its spread. This work was known to Cardinal Brancati. For all these reasons, it is mandatory that a comparison be made between it and the mission treatise of Brancati. It will be worthwhile first to review some of the evaluations made of Thomas a Jesu's work in order to determine its nature, for only then can it be accurately compared with Brancati's work.

Evaluations Made of the De Procuranda

Father Robert Streit, O.M.I., who conceived the necessity of publishing a critical and scientific bibliography of mission

writings, wrote that many questions of both a practical and theoretical nature regarding the missions had arisen in the sixteenth century. After Acosta, whom Streit calls the greatest mission theorist of the sixteenth century, came Thomas a Jesu. Streit found the book of Acosta to be more practical than theoretical, while Thomas a Jesu's strength was in fact that he was a systematic theorist of mission doctrine. The latter's book on the salvation of all peoples, continues Streit, is a systematic and complete work on mission theory, in which the principles of mission activity are treated in such a way as to form a unified whole.⁸

Joseph Schmidlin, another important figure in the formulation of the science of missiology in the early part of this century, regarded highly the work of Thomas a Jesu. He speaks about the "great work of Thomas a Jesu on mission theory" in which he engaged "in a searching analysis and demonstration of the necessity for and methods of missionary labors."⁹ Likewise he writes: "Still more detailed and systematic, but far less clear and acute than Acosta's work, are the twelve books, *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*, written by the Belgian [*sic*] Carmelite, Thomas a Jesu. In its style and orderly arrangement this work closely resembles a Scholastic treatise." He adds that the sources used by the Carmelite were the Bible, Fathers (notably Chrysostom), theologians, conciliar decrees, and especially Acosta.¹⁰

Monsignor Paventi in his manual of doctrinal missiology devotes several pages to Thomas a Jesu and his work.¹¹ As did Streit, so also he compares the Carmelite's work with that of Acosta and writes that the work of the latter is eminently practical and considers in a special way the West Indies. From this point of view it differs from the work of Thomas a Jesu, which is less practical but more theoretical and systematic, and in which the material object of the missions is studied in all its extension. The work, says Paventi, was prepared through the reading of numerous other books; he notes that Thomas a Jesu made great use of the so-called "Cartapaccio," which was a collection of mission documents made by Pietro della Madre di Dio, and other works, even some not

exclusively missionary, in compiling his own. It had a great importance in the mission movement of the time, despite some errors found in it. Of this work Paventi writes: "It has the great merit of presenting systematically for the first time all the immense material gathered together. The matter is treated in a systematic and scholastic form, but at times has the defect of being unclear."¹²

Father Mondreganes, O.F.M. Cap., in his manual of misiology, simply calls the work of Thomas a Jesu "a veritable encyclopedia of missionary science of its time," namely, the early seventeenth century.¹³

The modern apologist of Thomas a Jesu, Father Pammolli, notes that there are many who have become accustomed to admire the Carmelite of the seventeenth century as the creator of missionary theory and as the Doctor of the missions.¹⁴ Father Pammolli calls Thomas a Jesu the "systematizer of mission theory," or "the one who put order into the theory of the missions."¹⁵ Therefore, he says, Thomas a Jesu richly deserves the praise extended him by many writers, both Catholic and Protestant, ancient and recent, such as Hoornbeeck, Florencio de N.J., Streit, Schmidlin, Goyau, etc. Pammolli quotes in his book what Hoornbeeck said in praise of Thomas a Jesu.¹⁶ The work of his ancient confrere, according to Father Pammolli, can be called "the first synthesis of missionary science."¹⁷

Even Cardinal Brancati has something to say about the book of Thomas a Jesu. In connection with the amount of knowledge required of missionaries, he states that the book *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium* of the Discalced Carmelite friar, Thomas a Jesu, will be of great assistance to the missionary, who ought therefore to have a copy of it.¹⁸ Many other authors have written in praise of this book, but it is unnecessary to repeat their judgments here, for they simply echo the foregoing evaluations.

But in the midst of this adulation rises a solitary figure to sound a note of protest. It is the voice of the well-known Belgian missiologist, Father Pierre Charles, S.J. He begins a brief review of the work by observing that it has received

many tributes and encomia, that the Propaganda ordered copies of it, and that Pope Urban VIII requested another edition of it. He refers to Goyau's bestowal of the title "Doctor of the mission movement" upon the ancient Carmelite, and that Schmidlin expressed himself in the same terms. It cannot be denied, he says, that Thomas a Jesu contributed much to the founding of the Propaganda, and that from being a declared enemy of the missionary ideas of P. Girolamo Graziano, he suddenly changed his view and became a propagandist for the missionary ideal within his own Carmelite order. Father Charles does not wish to haggle over the merits of the man, for these cannot be denied.

The merits of the book itself is an entirely different question, he writes, and it is precisely to the work itself that Father Charles addresses his criticism. It is, he states, a rather incoherent compilation, upon nearly every page of which the defective method of its author can be discovered.

Le mérite de l'homme est donc incontestable; mais le *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium* est une compilation assez incohérente et qui trahit presque à chaque page la méthode défectueuse de l'auteur.¹⁹

The Belgian Jesuit then goes on to illustrate in a general way the sources used by Thomas a Jesu in compiling his work, showing that he took a chapter here from Acosta, a chapter there from Bozius, Bellarmine, Possevino, or some other author. At the end of that demonstration he states that these fragments of texts taken from a number of authors can scarcely be said to have been incorporated into one entity to form a logical whole. Father Charles notes that the Carmelite used the first person even though copying verbatim from Bozius: "vidimus nos ipsi superiore anno legatos (Japoniae) missos Romam." This passage, appearing in the work of Thomas a Jesu, implies that he himself saw the Japanese legates who went to Rome in 1585. At that time he was still in Spain and did not go to Rome until 1608. Father Charles notes also that Thomas a Jesu copied some marginal references from the work of Bozius, which referred to passages not even copied. For his part, he concludes, he feels

obliged to confess that this collection of disconnected fragments neither constitutes a true treatise, nor even resembles one.

Ces morceaux ne sont pas rejoinis. Il copie Bozius à la première personne "vidimus nos ipsi superiore anno legatos (Japoniae) missos Romam" en 1585, alors qu'il n'avait encore jamais quitté l'Espagne. Il copie les références marginales de Bozius, même quand elles se rapportent à des passages qu'il a omis de citer. Malgré soi, on est bien forcé de conclure que ce pêle-mêle de lambeaux, arrachés de ci de là, n'est pas un traité ni même une esquisse de quoi que ce soit.²⁰

This judgment of the book of Thomas a Jesu is not only widely divergent from the opinions of others; in some points it is absolutely contradictory to them. A compact view of these opinions can be seen in the following resumé:

Streit: Thomas a Jesu is a mission theorist, and only a theorist. His is a systematic work on mission theory.

Schmidlin: Thomas a Jesu made a searching analysis of mission methods; Schmidlin finds the work to be detailed, systematic, similar to a Scholastic treatise due to its orderly arrangement; yet, he finds it somewhat unclear.

Paventi: A theoretical and systematic work, less practical than Acosta's; it presented for the first time all mission theory in a systematic order; uses the Scholastic form; defect of being unclear at times.

Mondreganes: An encyclopedia of missionary science of the early seventeenth century.

Pammolli: Thomas a Jesu was the creator of missionary theory, the "Doctor of the missions," who systematized and put order into mission theory; the purpose of the work and its *de facto* value was principally practical, not theoretical.

Brancati: Makes only an implicit judgment of its practical value for missionaries in instructing catechumens.

Charles: No argument about the merits of the man; due to a defective method, his work is an incoherent compilation of fragments of texts taken

from here and there, confusing, lacking in system and unity.

A glance at these appraisals shows that there is no unanimous and consistent opinion among them. One says that it is a book on mission theory and that Thomas a Jesu is only a mission theorist; another, that the purpose of the work and its actual value was principally practical. One calls it an encyclopedia, others liken it to a scholastic treatise. Most surprising of all is the singular opinion of Father Charles, which contradicts those stating that the work is systematic and orderly. The conflicting character of these opinions is understandable, for the nature of the *De Procuranda* is such that it is difficult to make any general statement regarding it which would be true of all of its parts. It will be necessary to refer to the book itself to determine its purpose and nature and thus to be able to evaluate the accuracy of the above opinions.

Thomas a Jesu stated his purpose clearly in the prologue. It was twofold: first, to stimulate an interest in the missions among Christians, especially ecclesiastics and religious; second, to furnish missionaries with the means of refuting the errors of unbelievers and of converting them. Since those who are about to go to the missions, he wrote, often have neither the time nor the sources for the study of the particular problems they will face, he considered it desirable to gather into one volume passages from various authors, so that missionaries could readily find those means and aids necessary in safeguarding the Faith and in extirpating the errors of various sects. This volume would serve to illustrate the manner of dealing with unbelievers so that, knowing how to act prudently and without giving offense, missionaries might bring them to the Catholic Faith.²¹ He stated that he had not knowingly defrauded anyone, but had generally cited the source and author, except in those instances when the passages copied were short; in such instances he omitted the name, lest it be overdone and become annoying.²²

Sincerely interested in helping missionaries, Thomas a Jesu

carried out his intention. He scoured the libraries of Rome in search of sources he considered useful; he then compiled and published them in one volume. The book is precisely what he intended it to be; nothing more, nothing less. It is a book prepared for the use of missionaries composed of texts taken from the works of Catholic writers ranging from the fifth to the seventeenth century.

Those opinions referring to it as a work on mission theory are somewhat misleading. It was beyond the purpose of Thomas a Jesu to write a book on mission theory, and it would have been unlikely that he accidentally and unintentionally created one. Even though Father Pammolli's statements regarding the book might be interpreted to mean that he did, he himself states that Thomas a Jesu did not intend to create a new work from a doctrinal point of view.²³ Father Pammolli notes that Thomas a Jesu is more a compiler than an original writer, and that he used the method of compilation in composing his ascetical and mystical writings as well.²⁴ He likewise observes that one who scans the pages of the *De Procuranda* expecting to find the lucubrations of a learned man will be surprised to find the copious and prolonged citations therein: texts from the Old and New Testament, from the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, from theologians and missiologists; pages entirely transcribed from other works, published or unpublished.²⁵ In view of these admissions of fact, it is difficult to accept the statement that Thomas a Jesu was the creator of mission theory.

It is true that there are theoretical sections in it, particularly in the first five books which contain general questions regarding the missions. The following six books regard the means to be used in converting various categories of unbelievers. The last book is a list of privileges given to missionaries. Apparently it was because the last seven books were found to be most useful that Father Pammolli, following Goyau, calls it a "manual of the missionary apostolate."²⁶ He writes that its value was limited almost entirely to the field of practice.²⁷ Thus, both its declared purpose and the actual acceptance of the work show it to be mainly practical.²⁸

The greatest discrepancy among the opinions concerns the question of system and order. There is no doubt that the index is systematic, for it neatly divides the entire work into twelve books, each with its own title; each book is divided into chapters with their own titles. The index gives the impression that it is a scholastic treatise with the customary systematic order and design found in such a treatise.

The contents of the individual chapters, however, do not always reflect this orderliness of the index. Although the book is mainly a compilation of scattered sources, Thomas a Jesu at times wrote connecting sentences between passages quoted, added his own comments briefly, also slightly elaborated the texts, or contributed other minor editorial devices. These interjections of his own are sometimes confusing and make it difficult to separate his remarks from the texts copied. Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the teaching intended by him, especially when differing opinions are given on controversial matters.

It cannot be called a scholastic treatise, not only because it lacks unity of authorship, but also because it is not developed in a scholastic manner. Then, too, most of the passages quoted are from sources which were not developed according to the scholastic form.

Father Pammolli underscores what he calls a "notable defect" of the book: the over-dependence on other authors, so much so that some chapters resemble a mosaic, according to Pammolli's description.²⁹ Actually, it could be called over-dependence only if Thomas a Jesu had intended to write an original work; but since he did not, this criticism seems unwarranted.

Nevertheless, as Father Charles points out, the method used was defective, resulting in both a lack of unity and clarity. Texts were copied verbatim from the works of writers widely separated in time, in outlook, in purpose of writing, and in manner of expression. As a result, unelaborated passages taken from their original context do not always fit the context into which Thomas a Jesu placed them.

Perhaps the best characterization of the work of the Car-

melite is that of Father Mondreganes, who calls it simply an encyclopedia of mission science. Even this has to be qualified, in that many of the sources used were not *ex professo* missionary and therefore did not pertain directly to the missions. The passages quoted from these sources often lack the adaptation required to make them missiologial. Nevertheless, like an encyclopedia, it presents in separate chapters the thoughts of numerous writers; it is more like an encyclopedia than a scholastic treatise. In any case, it can hardly be said that Thomas a Jesu constructed a mission theory or fashioned a synthesis of mission science simply by compiling and publishing within a few years' time, scattered excerpts from other works. His role was similar to that of an editor of an encyclopedia. An analysis of the method employed by Thomas a Jesu in compiling the *De Procuranda* can be found at the end of this chapter.

Systematic Character of Brancati's Treatise

Like Thomas a Jesu, Cardinal Brancati also intended a work which would be useful for missionaries. However, the method used by the Cardinal is in sharp contrast to that used by the Carmelite. Whereas Thomas a Jesu assembled a work consisting for the most part of texts taken from other authors, Brancati composed an original and systematic treatise on the propagation of the Faith. In fact, it can be said that he organized the mission doctrine of the seventeenth century, such as it was. It is an odd coincidence that some of the judgments passed on the book of Thomas a Jesu by the foregoing missiologists seem to apply quite fittingly to the mission treatise of Cardinal Brancati, whose work was apparently unknown to them, with the exception of Father Charles. It is particularly noteworthy that Father Charles refers to Brancati's treatise as "perhaps the first systematic treatise on the propagation of the Faith."³⁰ Monsignor Paventi gives it the same description without qualification.³¹

Brancati was a man who was admirably equipped with intellectual endowments to compose a systematic treatise. He

was one of the most learned theologians of his age; he was consulted by cardinals, princes, and others; and his works were used by the popes.³²

Erudite in several fields, profound and clear in his teaching, the Roman Congregations vied for his services.³³ He was the most outstanding Scotist of his own century and one of the most illustrious of all time. He was not merely a mechanical repeater of the doctrine of the Subtle Doctor, but adapted it to the new form of theology occasioned by the rise of Protestantism, completing and developing the doctrine of Scotus in the light of the teachings of the Scriptures and Fathers, and adding new texts not used by Scotus.³⁴ Brancati was a creative thinker and writer. Moreover, as Franchini notes, in all his works he was "singular in his method and clearness, in ordering and dividing things with such finesse of judgment that the knowledge of one matter sprang from the knowledge of another, forming the links of a chain of understanding, illuminating the mind clearly and constructing a solid body of doctrine."³⁵ These are the qualities of mind mentioned either explicitly or implicitly by nearly every person who has written about Cardinal Brancati.

The Cardinal exercised these talents in a scientific formulation of mission doctrine, and it is precisely this fact of giving order and system to the existing mission theory of his age that constitutes Brancati's distinctive contribution to the study of the missions. Before proceeding to illustrate his contribution, three things should be noted in order that the scope and limits of it may be more clearly defined.³⁶

First, Brancati wrote a treatise on the propagation of the Faith, not on the missions, as this term is understood today. The difference is more than verbal, for today the science of missiology is studied from the point of view of the implantation of the Church, and so includes more than the mere propagation of the Faith or mere personal conversion. Included in the scope of the present day science are such things as the establishment of a local mission hierarchy, schools, and all other social institutions which form an integral part of the Church. Second, he did not write a treatise which is sep-

arate and complete in itself. His mission treatise is in the form of three disputations added to the tract *De Fide* in a Commentary on the Book of Sentences. Some questions, therefore, which are treated in a modern manual of missiology, can be found elsewhere in his *Commentaria*, but not in that part comprising his mission treatise. Third, Brancati did not create a mission science, or the science of missiology; such a thing would have been out of the question in the seventeenth century. The organization of the missions along the lines of a special hierarchical order under the direction of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and vicars appointed by it, was in its initial stages at the time Brancati wrote. Mission law was likewise in its early stage of formation. The missions themselves were in a period of transition from the more or less complete control of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns to ecclesiastical control. Mission theory itself, therefore, was in a state of transition; under such historical conditions, it was impossible to formulate a complete science of the missions. For these reasons it is not claimed that Brancati formulated a complete science of missiology, but rather that he organized and systematized the principles of mission theory current in his age.

The systematic or scientific character of his mission treatise is foreshadowed in his declaration of intent, which is found in the dedication of Tome III of his *Commentaria* to Pope Clement X.³⁷ After noting what a precious treasure is the Catholic Faith, he says that he decided to add to the tract *De Fide* certain questions concerning its propagation; in what order, by whose care and industry, at what time and in what lands the Faith was propagated; how it was then being spread, and how it ought to be spread in future. In short, he intended to treat of the missions, their history and present status, upon whom the obligation of the mission rests, and how they ought to be conducted.

It is interesting to note the similarity of Brancati's statement of intention and the definition of mission science as it was formulated by Schmidlin, one of the early great missiologists of this century. Schmidlin determined its scope as

follows: "Mission science has for its object the critical and systematic investigation and discussion of the spreading of the Christian faith, both in relation to its actual course, as well as with reference to its foundations and laws."³⁸

The relationship is seen even more clearly in the division that Schmidlin made of mission science:

The branch of mission science which treats of missions in their concrete reality . . . is known as missiography when it deals with the present, and mission history when it deals with the past. Contrariwise, the theoretical branch of mission science discusses, on the one hand, the reasons for establishing missions—that is, the why and whence; on the other hand, there are discussed the methods of establishing them—that is, the how, the purpose for which, and the means by which, missions should be organized.³⁹

Both Brancati and Schmidlin have much in common. Both, for example, included the history of the missions, their present status, the qualities and training required of missionaries, and mission methodology. Quite naturally, Schmidlin, formulating a complete science and writing after three centuries of ecclesiastical organization of the missions, includes more in his material object. But it is important to note that Brancati, three centuries before the science of missiology was created, took the same general direction in his study of the missions as did Schmidlin, one of the early creators of this science. Even though missiology today covers more in its scope than did Brancati, his "omissions" can be easily understood.

There is no doctrinal section in his mission treatise, because the doctrinal foundation for the missions was treated elsewhere in his *Commentaria*. There is no juridical section as such in Brancati's treatise; indeed such a section would have been meager at that time anyway. Still, he does refer to papal decrees or conciliar decisions affecting missionaries, as well as to some of the instructions of the Propaganda. The sciences of anthropology and the history of religions had not yet been formed in his day; yet the importance for the missionary of the knowledge now systematized in these studies

can be seen in Brancati's perspicacious advocacy of a thorough knowledge of the mission territory and of the people and their background—especially their religious background.

But it is not so much the similarity of content of Brancati's treatise with modern manuals of missiology that makes his work a contribution to mission science. It could be objected that other missiologists of the same period also wrote works containing much of the same matter. Such is readily admitted. It is not the contents of his treatise, but precisely the form in which he developed them that makes his work a contribution to the scientific formation of mission theory—and at a time when the formation of a separate mission science was still unthought of. Perhaps there is not a great deal original in the matters treated in his treatise; most of what he says had been said, though only piecemeal, by writers before him. This does not lessen but heightens the importance of Brancati's synthesis.

Many writers have published works on subjects to which they have added little so far as actual content is concerned. Still it is useful that many books be written even on the same topic, for no two authors will develop their subject in the same way. Being written in different styles, and using different arguments, they appeal to diverse readers. If the principle had always been applied that only books which contribute to the content matter should be composed, the *De Procuranda* of Thomas a Jesu would not have been written.⁴⁰

Even though much of the contents of Brancati's treatise can be found in other works, yet its justification and importance lies precisely in the fact that Brancati recast old matter into a more orderly and more systematic form. His approach was scientific and systematic; he set out to extract the basic principles from the mission doctrine of his age and to prove the truth of these principles. In every article, after giving a *status quaestionis*, he stated his teaching and brought forth arguments in confirmation of it from the Sacred Scriptures and Tradition. At the very beginning of the work he announced his intention: "I seek first, how and where the Faith was preached from the beginning; then, whether there is any

precept concerning its propagation; lastly, how it ought to be propagated.”⁴¹ He then proceeded to write on the propagation of the Faith in a scientific manner; he classified and arranged historical facts exemplifying its propagation; he established by means of proof some of the general truths regarding it; and he systematized in a logical order the conclusions that others had already reached. Thus he contributed to the structure of a science of the missions, without of course establishing a separate science, for that was impossible in the seventeenth century.

Brancati's treatise, on the whole, is very orderly and follows a logical development. On the one hand, it proceeds in a chronological order, treating first the past history of the propagation of the Faith, then its present status, and finally, the methods to be used in future. The same orderliness can be seen in the treatment of the office of missionary; its nature first, then the qualities required, and finally how the missionary should carry out his office. To illustrate these qualities, the convenient skeletal outline of the cardinal and theological virtues is used. The entire treatise follows the Scholastic method, even in the historical section; this too contributes to the order.

There are, of course, some defects. The division of qualities into natural, moral, and supernatural is unorthodox; these members are not mutually exclusive. Then too, after beginning a discussion of the office of missionary, he suddenly interrupts it with an article on the necessity of the missions. There is a certain amount of unavoidable repetition. But these are minor defects and do not mar the otherwise excellent order which contributes greatly to the unity and clarity of the treatise.

Furthermore, Brancati created his own mission theory. The only mission work he mentions is the *De Procuranda* of Thomas a Jesu, and this only briefly on three occasions.⁴² The contents of Brancati's treatise and some sections of the work of Thomas a Jesu are similar, especially in relation to the *modus operandi* of missionaries; but the sources, the arguments, and the form are vastly different. There is then no

dependence of the Cardinal upon the Carmelite, except perhaps for the ideas of these topics themselves. Each work contains some matters which are proper to it and not found in the other.

The two works then are quite different despite a certain likeness in material content. Considering only the first four Books of the *De Procuranda*, which contain the theoretical portion of the work, it can be said that Brancati's work is more orderly and systematic, and forms a unified mission theory albeit incomplete. Yet his treatise can be called a synthesis of much of the mission doctrine of the late seventeenth century, and represents a significant advance over the work of Thomas a Jesu towards the scientific formulation of a mission theory. It is particularly noteworthy that the only one who criticizes the lack of order and system in the work of Thomas a Jesu nevertheless calls Brancati's work a systematic treatise. This was the conclusion of Father Charles, who made a resume of both works in his manual of missiology.

Comparison of Contents

Thomas a Jesu devotes the entire first book of the *De Procuranda* to the demonstration of the necessity and the excellence of the missionary apostolate or of "helping the infidels," to use his phrase. The fundamental reasons for this, namely, the universal salvific will of God and the universality of redemption, are not mentioned; he limits himself to demonstrating that missions are necessary because many have not yet heard the Gospel.⁴³ After this he shows that missions ought to be undertaken because of the dignity of the human soul, the teaching and example of Christ and the saints, and the utility to one's own spiritual well-being. These arguments are used to demonstrate the excellence of the missionary apostolate as well as its necessity. The object of the missionary apostolate is universal, according to Thomas a Jesu, and includes all unbelievers in the Catholic Faith: pagans, heretics, schismatics, and Jews.

As previously noted, Cardinal Brancati likewise did not

concern himself with the dogmatic foundation for the necessity of the missions, for the reason, very likely, that he considered it sufficiently dealt with when he proved the necessity of the virtue of faith elsewhere in his *Commentaria*. It would have been superfluous, therefore, to repeat these reasons in the three disputations constituting his mission treatise. Both authors agree on the universality of the mission apostolate.

Thomas a Jesu treats the missionary obligation at great length, devoting the entire second book to a discussion of the subjects obliged to seek the salvation of the infidels. It devolves primarily upon the Roman Pontiff to send missionaries throughout the world to propagate the Faith.⁴⁴ He then illustrates in the six following chapters that they have fulfilled their duty in this regard since the beginning of the Church. Both Thomas a Jesu and Cardinal Brancati included in their works on the missions a brief conspectus of what the popes have done in fulfilling their obligation to propagate the Faith. About the same emphasis and length of treatment are devoted to this topic by both men. The sources used by each are different: Thomas a Jesu took his material from Bozius' *De Signis Ecclesiae*, whereas Brancati used the *Annales* of Cardinal Baronius.⁴⁵

Christian princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, are likewise bound to be solicitous for the conversion of the infidels, according to Thomas a Jesu, at least out of charity towards their neighbor. The kings of Spain are bound in justice as well, for the Roman Pontiffs entrusted this duty to them for the New World.⁴⁶ Strangely enough, although he mentions the zeal of the kings of Portugal along with those of Spain for the promulgation of the Gospel, he does not explicitly mention that the Portuguese monarchs were bound in justice, although the *Jus Patronatus* was given to them also for the lands they had discovered. Quite likely the reason is that in this chapter Thomas a Jesu is copying at times from Acosta, who spoke only of the obligation of the Spanish kings, since he was concerned only with missions in Spanish colonial territory. This omission, while certainly not of capital im-

portance for us today, serves to illustrate the effect of the method used by Thomas a Jesu: the simple reproduction of passages from other authors without always adapting their writings to his own purpose.

Continuing, the Carmelite finds that it is fitting that all religious should undertake the task of "helping infidels or heretics." Since mendicant orders are especially suited for this apostolate, it pertains to them in a special way.⁴⁷ In opposition to his original thought on the matter, he argues that monks of contemplative orders cannot excuse themselves from the apostolate on the plea that contemplation and mission activity are incompatible. Finally, he states, all Christians share in this burden and obligation in some way.⁴⁸

Thomas a Jesu does not determine the extent of this obligation upon the different subjects mentioned. He states that the duty of procuring the salvation of infidels pertains in some way to these different subjects, using the same verb *spectare* in each case, which verb only vaguely connotes "obligation." The author expresses himself on this obligation in regard to the various groups in the following manner:

The Roman Pontiffs: Nemini dubium est, modo catholice sapita, Sancti Evangelii Ecclesiaeque Christi per totum orbem propagationem ad Romani summique Pontificis auctoritatem spectare.⁴⁹

Bishops and Princes: Cura et sollicitudo conversionis fidelium spectat etiam ad principes christianos tam saeculares quam ecclesiasticos.⁵⁰

Mendicant Orders: Cura infideles juvandi praecipue spectat ad Ordines Mendicantes.⁵¹

The Laity: Ad omnes Christianos spectat proximorum etiam infidelium saluti consulere.⁵²

Obviously, the extent of this duty is not the same for all; the pope and bishops have a greater obligation than the laity, yet the Carmelite does not clarify it. Father Pammolli, in an article on the mission thought of Thomas a Jesu, writes that the latter shows himself to be uncertain of the extent of this obligation in regard to bishops.⁵³ As a matter of fact, in the chapter in which he discusses this obligation on the part of bishops and kings, he has little to say about the part

bishops ought to play in the missionary apostolate. The greater part of that chapter concerns Christian kings and princes. Considering the circumstance of the times in which he wrote, when the propagation of the Faith was largely carried on under the sponsorship of the kings of Spain and Portugal, this emphasis upon their role is understandable. Still, by linking together in one chapter, and even in one sentence, the obligation incumbent upon kings and bishops, there is a lack of a clear distinction between that obligation delegated to the Spanish and Portuguese kings for determined areas and that obligation upon bishops *in solidum* as the successors of the Apostles. Such a distinction obtained in principle even at that time. By joining the two subjects, the implication is wrongly given that the obligation was equally binding upon each.

Also unclear is the thought of Thomas a Jesu on the extent of the laity's obligation towards the mission apostolate. He notes that not all Christians are adapted to bring others to the Faith, but many can and ought to fulfill their part. In proof of this he quotes excerpts from the homilies of St. John Chrysostom in which the saint exhorts his listeners, at least those more gifted and more capable of explaining the Faith, to spread the teaching of the Gospel among the Jews and Arians by means of informal conversations.⁵⁴ Thomas a Jesu wrote a three-sentence introduction to this chapter; the remainder, aside from a few words of his referring to the source, is composed entirely of literal transcriptions from the homilies of Chrysostom, without further explanation. These exhortations to an informal propagating of the Faith by the laity, taken by themselves, do not demonstrate a real obligation towards the mission apostolate.

In contrast to this indefinite treatment of the missionary obligation, Cardinal Brancati gives a precise and clear teaching, although incomplete. He considers only the obligation of the popes and limits this obligation to the act of sending.⁵⁵ He does not mention other subjects upon whom might rest the missionary obligation in its broader concept. Thus, Thomas a Jesu includes all the subjects of the obligation

without determining the extent of it for each, whereas the Cardinal determines it precisely for only one subject. The Carmelite wanted to arouse an interest in the missions among all Christians, whereas the Conventual was concerned with upholding the rights of the Holy See, due to the difficulties which arose with Portugal as a result of the *Jus Patronatus*.⁵⁶ Neither one, therefore, has a completely developed teaching on this point.

The term "missionary" is not used by the Carmelite. In place of it he employed such words as: *ministri Evangelii, praedicatores Fidei, Evangelii operarii, viri apostolici, propagatores Evangelii, Ministri apostolici*.⁵⁷ The term "mission" is found in the *De Procuranda*, although not with the relative frequency or to the extent that Brancati used it. There is no explanation of the term; it is used indiscriminately along with other words or phrases which express the nature and finality of the mission. Thomas a Jesu speaks, for example, of the propagation of the Faith, the preaching of the Gospel, the work of conversion, and the salvation of the infidels.⁵⁸ Very frequently he uses the expression, "helping the infidels." Father Pammolli notes that Thomas a Jesu used the term "mission" in the sense of "mobile missions," or going from place to place to preach the Gospel; and also to denote "stabile missions," or fixed centers from which the missionary went forth to outlying districts. Such usage of the term is found in the *Stimulus Missionum*, but not in the *De Procuranda*.⁵⁹

Thomas a Jesu treats the moral qualities required of missionaries and the manner in which they should live and conduct themselves in the second part of Book Four, which has twelve chapters. There seems to be no particular order or method in treating these qualities; in successive chapters he speaks about prayer and confidence in God, charity, beneficence, prudence, chastity, the renouncing of all material goods, patience, the amount of doctrine required, the knowledge of the language of the people. It can be seen that this treatment of the qualities of missionaries is neither as complete nor as orderly as the corresponding section in Brancati's treatise.

Quite likely the reason for this is that Thomas a Jesu took much of his teaching on this point from the work of Jose Acosta, who emphasized the need of certain virtues for missionaries among the Indians in Peru. Although writing for missionaries in general, Thomas a Jesu limited his teaching mainly to that of Acosta and did not include other important requisites for missionaries.

On one point he does go further than Acosta. In regard to the knowledge required of missionaries, the Carmelite follows the teaching of Acosta and repeats what the latter says: namely, a moderate amount of learning is sufficient for missionaries working among barbaric peoples. In addition Thomas a Jesu recognizes the need of more learning for those laboring among heretics, schismatics, or Jews; for these a good knowledge of theology and Sacred Scripture is necessary, as well as a knowledge of the particular errors of the group whose conversion he undertakes.⁶⁰ Cardinal Brancati makes no distinction and sets the same high standard for all.⁶¹ Following in the footsteps of Acosta, Thomas a Jesu likewise counsels a knowledge of the customs of the people, but without the insistence that Acosta laid on this point.

There is little juridical treatment in the work of Thomas a Jesu. There are a few references to some early Councils, such as those of Constantinople, Nice, and Ephesus, but on matters which have little direct bearing on mission theory or practice. He has one chapter on the form and method of proposing the teaching contained in the Gospel to infidels. This theme, which he touches upon only in general in this chapter, is further elaborated in Books Six to Eleven, in which he treats the method of evangelizing various sects in particular. The matter contained in these books, called *controversia*, has no counterpart in the mission treatise of Brancati. Book Three of *De Procuranda* contains suggestions for the institution of exclusively missionary seminaries. Since this Congregation had already been formed and missionary seminaries instituted by the time Brancati wrote, he noted their existence and the active part they were playing in the mission apostolate.

The position that Thomas a Jesu held in regard to seventeenth century mission methods is not easy to determine. He treats the relation of the state to the missions *ex professo* in Book Four, part one, chapter one. He writes that it seems to be beyond dispute that missionaries can lawfully avail themselves of such military protection as they need against the savagery of barbarian people.⁶² But whether it is expedient for missionaries to rely upon the help afforded by civil authorities is, he says, a matter which presents no small difficulty. On one point he is definite and clear: no force, physical or moral, may be used to compel infidels to accept the Gospel; their conversion must be a free act of will on their part.

The Carmelite then presents the arguments of Acosta, whom he describes as a very pious and learned man (*vir valde doctus et pius*), showing that the apostolic method of evangelization cannot be observed exclusively among barbarians.⁶³ To these arguments Thomas a Jesu adds one of his own, designed to prove that the method of the Apostles was not adaptable to all peoples in different ages and circumstances.

On the other hand, continues the Carmelite, many learned and pious men believe that at any time the methods of the Apostles in propagating the Faith ought to be observed among all nations, no matter how barbaric or uncivilized. According to this viewpoint, missionaries should follow the example of Christ and the Apostles, who did not invade other lands and seize them by force, threatening the inhabitants with death if they did not accept the Gospel. Neither therefore should the missionaries of the seventeenth century. Secondly, God is absolutely unchangeable, and if His providence is considered, it will be found that He always chose as His ministers those who were without human protection or means of any kind whatsoever. Reliance upon human means is based on human prudence, not upon the plan of God's providence. Moreover, he writes, the work of converting souls and the founding of the Church nearly always required hardships, great labor, and sacrifice even to martyrdom. Finally, Christ said, "I send you as sheep among wolves," that is, unprotected among enemies. Since Christ sent the Apostles without human

protection, it is a sufficient indication that such is not required for the conversion of souls.⁶⁴

Thomas a Jesu continues this mode of argumentation, adding that to rely upon military protection is to depart from the school of Christ. He relates what ancient authors said about the barbarity of the ancient Hungarians, whose mode of life was said to be more like that of beasts than of men, and who could neither be moved by reason nor touched by mercy. Yet they and other barbaric peoples were brought to the Faith by preachers of the Gospel who possessed no arms. If the Indians and other barbaric peoples are compared with the ancient Hungarians, it will be found that the latter were far more uncivilized and cruel. Therefore, missionaries should not depart from the apostolic form of missions in converting the Indians to the Faith; rather all human protection should be rejected and hope placed firmly in God alone.⁶⁵

Although it would seem that Thomas a Jesu preferred the method of preaching the Gospel without resorting to assistance from civil authorities, not even for protection of life, it is impossible to state this with certainty. In this chapter he presents both affirmative and negative arguments and admits that those on each side are weighty; but he does not state explicitly which arguments he himself accepts. The conclusion of the chapter, which is rendered in an impersonal form, may be his conclusion, or it may be simply the conclusion of some (unnamed) pious and learned men whose arguments he gave.⁶⁶

Father Pammolli, who issued the critical edition of the first four books of the *De Procuranda* and also wrote at length on the missionary activity of Thomas a Jesu, holds that the latter taught that the civil power was not required for the propagation of the Faith.⁶⁷ If this is the correct interpretation of the thought of Thomas a Jesu in this chapter, as indeed it seems to be, then it poses a problem, for it seems contradictory to what he wrote in an earlier chapter on the obligation of secular and ecclesiastical Christian princes to procure the salvation of infidels. That chapter contains these words:

Ejusmodi praedicationem consequitur ut qui ex infidelibus barbaris christianam religionem profiteri velint, ad curam principum christianorum tutelamque pertineant. Id cum litterae Alexandri VI copiose doceant, quarum concessiones ad hunc modum recte viri doctissimi intelligunt, non est cur in hac causa diutius haereamus. Neque enim posset aliter fides in tot populis recens et tenera permanere ac crescere, nisi christianorum principum patrocinio, fide, potentia adversus inimicorum Christi defenderetur injurias. Barbari, natura efferati, et insolentes, foedera atque amicitias parum curare soliti, rationem facile contemnentes, quonam modo fraenari tenerique possint, nisi nostrorum vim pertimescant?

Quare Hispanorum principum est Indos tueri eorumque aeternam salutem idoneis ministris procurare, atque eos ad Evangelii gratiam provocare, de fide instruere, instructos moribus informare, ac denique nihil praetermittere quod ad illos lucrificandos pertineat, et quod officii sui hanc esse propriam obligationem agnoscant.⁶⁸

First of all, it should be noted that the first two paragraphs quoted above are taken verbatim from *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* of Jose de Acosta.⁶⁹ Taking the thought of Acosta, the Carmelite wished to show the care that Christian princes ought to have for the salvation of the infidels. Without their help it would not be possible to propagate the Faith and preserve it among so many people. Addressing himself to the problem of propagating the Faith among barbaric peoples, Acosta asked the rhetorical question: how could they possibly be restrained and tamed, as it were, unless they feared the armed might of the Spanish?

Thomas a Jesu quotes this with apparent approval. Thus, in Book Two he seems to approve of the use of military intervention, at least to the extent of making it possible for the Gospel to be preached, though not to the extent of imposing the Gospel upon unwilling infidels. Later on, in Book Four, he seems to favor the view that missionaries should not depend upon arms at all for protection, but should go among all peoples armed only with faith and virtue.

Father Pammolli notes the difficulty and tries to explain it by saying that in Book Two Thomas a Jesu is simply citing the words of Acosta, whereas in Book Four he demonstrates that the civil power is not needed to propagate the Faith.⁷⁰ In the same article Father Pammolli also states that Thomas a Jesu considered the missions as separate from the political power, even to the extent of not wanting protection for missionaries.⁷¹ This statement is puzzling in the light of the last two paragraphs of the Latin text quoted above, taken from the work of Thomas a Jesu; indeed the whole chapter in which that text is found is devoted to showing that Christian princes have an obligation towards the missions.

The explanation that Thomas a Jesu is merely quoting the words of Acosta is not satisfactory. As a matter of fact, he does not cite the source as he normally does, but in this instance seems to make Acosta's words his own. He does not merely quote, but to all intents and purposes, adopts the words of Acosta to prove a point which he himself holds. In that case, his thought in Book Two is incompatible with his apparent thought in Book Four. On the other hand, if Father Pammolli is indeed correct that Thomas a Jesu is merely quoting Acosta's words but without approving them, it demonstrates a general and fundamental defect in the work of Thomas a Jesu: a copying from many authors without always clarifying and unifying sufficiently the thought contained in the passages copied. In Book Two Thomas a Jesu copied a text from Acosta with which he either agreed or did not agree. If he agreed with it (as indeed it seems), then his thought here is in opposition with his thought later on in Book Four. If he did not agree, he should have stated his disagreement, or else not have included the passage in the first place.

Due to the uncertainty of the teaching of Thomas a Jesu in regard to mission methods, it is difficult to compare his teaching with that of Brancati. As will be recalled, Father Charles claimed that Brancati reduced all his missionary doctrine in an arbitrary manner to the instructions given by Christ to the Apostles and seventy-two disciples.⁷² If it is true that Thomas a Jesu taught that the methodology of the Apostles was the

only one expedient to use even in the seventeenth century, this criticism by Father Charles would apply to the Carmelite rather than to the Cardinal. Brancati made a clear distinction and prohibited the use of force absolutely to missionaries themselves, but permitted it under certain specified conditions to Christian princes.⁷³

The manner of treating the question of public disputations shows perhaps more clearly than any other example the differences between the works of Thomas a Jesu and Cardinal Brancati. In opening the discussion of this question, Thomas a Jesu states that it is a matter of no small importance, but rather worthy of much consideration, to know whether one should engage in public disputations with unbelievers or not. He then refers to a number of historical examples, noting the effect in each case; sometimes the heretics were converted, at other times they only became more entrenched in their own position. In conclusion Thomas a Jesu says simply: it is a matter of divine prudence to discern when to enter into public disputations and when to abstain; the merits of the persons, their wisdom and knowledge, and especially their integrity of life and sanctity ought to be weighed, for to wise men who rely on divine aid will be given the victory.⁷⁴

In contrast to this vague conclusion, it will be remembered that Cardinal Brancati gave definite directions. Private and peaceful disputations are not only licit but necessary in the propagation of the Faith. The missionary should never instigate public disputations; but if they are unavoidable, he should undertake them with great prudence and charity for the glory of God and the spiritual profit of his neighbor.

These are the only points of mission doctrine that can be compared, for only the first four books of Thomas a Jesu's work concern theoretical questions. The remainder of his work treats the errors of various sects and how to overcome them; these matters are not treated in Brancati's treatise.

A few words perhaps ought to be said about the reconditeness of Brancati's treatise. On the surface it would seem that the work of Thomas a Jesu was "successful" and the work of Brancati a "failure," if one were to judge on the basis of their

recognition in mission circles to date. Possibly the reason for the one becoming well-known and the other being consigned to oblivion can be traced to an accident of history.

Thomas a Jesu compiled his work near the beginning of the seventeenth century, less than ten years before the founding of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith and at a time when there was much mission activity and interest in the missions. His work even played a part in the founding of the Propaganda. This Congregation began at once to promote the circulation of books on the missions. There was a need at the time for some kind of general work in the missions, a need which the book of Acosta, though valuable, could not serve due to its preoccupation with the Indian missions only.

Among the prelates named to the newly-founded Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith was the Carmelite father, Dominicus a Jesu-Maria, the Vicar General of the Discalced Carmelites. It would have been quite natural and quite understandable for him to suggest that the book of his confere Thomas a Jesu be made available for missionaries. His influence could easily explain the request of eighty copies of it ordered by the Propaganda, as well as the subsequent requests made by the Propaganda and Pope Urban VIII for a re-edition of the book.

Conversely, Cardinal Brancati wrote his mission treatise towards the end of the seventeenth century when interest in the missions was beginning to wane. There was a definite decline of interest in the missions during the following century. In fact, the mission literature of the eighteenth century consisted of weak effusions based on earlier writings, according to Streit and Schmidlin.⁷⁵ Brancati's mission treatise, hidden as it was in a *Commentary on the Book of Sentences*, could easily go undetected. These circumstances could explain why it was unknown to the early compilers of a mission bibliography in the first part of this century.

In a certain sense, Brancati was both ahead of his time and behind it; ahead, because he began the systematization of mission theory before the modern mission organization was stabilized; behind, because his treatise was written late in a two-

century period of great mission activity. Thus, its late discovery in this century does not indicate that it is inferior to other mission writings. It simply illustrates that it was harder to find.

Analysis Showing the Composition of the First Four Books of *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*.

The principal sources from which Thomas a Jesu compiled his work are: *Collectio documentorum et instructionum pro conversione infidelium et haereticorum servientium* of P. Pietro della Madre di Dio, which were bound in a volume under the title "Cartapacio"; *Diario Consistoriale* of Cardinal Santori; *Udienze e Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum* of Cardinal Santori; Thomas Bozius, *De Signis Ecclesiae Dei Libri XXIII*, Tom.I, Romae 1591; Antonius Possevinus, *Bibliotheca Selecta Qua Agitur de Ratione Studiorum in Historia, in Disciplina, in Salute Omnium Procuranda*, Romae 1593; Jose de Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1596; Joannes a Jesu-Maria, *Tractatus quo asseruntur Missiones et rationes adversae refelluntur; Votum, seu consilium pro missionibus, quo ad nova objecta respondetur; Instructio Missionum*. These are the principal sources used, but Thomas a Jesu knew of and used many others as well.⁷⁶

This analysis was prepared from the text of the *De Procuranda* itself, in which Thomas a Jesu ordinarily gave credit to the authors from whom he compiled his work; also utilized were the footnotes in the critical edition of the text published in 1940 by Father Pammolli and the general outline of the work as found in the appendix of Father Charles' *Dossiers de L'Action Missionnaire*. Any reference found herein to the text of the *De Procuranda*, or to page numbers or footnotes to the text, pertains to the critical edition.

Book One.

All eleven chapters of this book are repeated from the *Stimulus Missionum*, composed previously by Thomas a Jesu. It should be noted that the thoughts and arguments contained in this earlier work are admittedly the thoughts and arguments of Girolamo Graziano and Giovanni di Gesu-Maria, confreres of Thomas a Jesu.⁷⁷ This first

book does not deal with mission theory so much as it attempts to promote an interest in the missions.

Book Two, Part One.

Chapter 1—copied from Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice*, tome I, lib. I, c.25.

Chapter 2—only the first two sentences are written by Thomas a Jesu; all the rest is from Bozius, *De Signis Ecclesiae*, lib. IV, sig. 6, c.1, pp. 232-233.

Chapter 3—all from Bozius, *ibid.*, pp. 233-242.

Chapter 4—all from Bozius, *ibid.*, pp. 242-244.

Chapter 5—all from Bozius, *ibid.*, pp. 245-246; 248.

Chapter 6—all from Bozius, *ibid.*, p. 249.

Chapter 7—all from Bozius, *ibid.*, p. 253.

Chapter 8—interspersed in this chapter are citations from Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Lib. III, c.2, pp. 255-256; also from Pope Gregory, Bozius, and a lengthy letter from King John of Portugal to Castrius, a praetor in the East Indies. About 4 of the 7½ pages of this chapter are made up of quotations.

Book Two, Part Two.

Chapters 1 to 7—according to Father Charles, all of this second part is copied from the *Assertio Missionum* of Giovanni di Gesu-Maria; according to the footnotes in the critical edition of 1940, this second part is taken from the above-mentioned work and also the *Stimulus Missionum*.

Book Two, Part Three.

Chapters 1 to 5—practically all five chapters are taken from the *Stimulus Missionum*. In Chapter 1 are excerpts from Acosta's work also. In Chapter 5 the arguments of William of St. Amour against mendicant orders are proposed; they are refuted by passages taken from the works of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Book Three.

Chapter 1—this chapter concerns the erection of a congregation for the propagation of the Faith. Footnote 1 of the critical edition says that the chapter contains an unpublished document of Pietro a Madre Dio, which is preserved in the archives of the General Curia of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome.

Chapter 2—there are a little over four pages in this chapter in the critical edition. A large part of the first page is copied verbatim from Acosta (*De Proc. Indorum Salute*, Lib. IV, c.12, pp. 393-94), but without the usual acknowledgment of the source. There is no source given for the rest of the chapter.

Chapter 3—in footnote 1 at the beginning of this chapter Father Pammolli notes that the chapter is taken from an unpublished document of Pietro della Madre di Dio, and that Thomas a Jesu inserted it into his work after making only some slight changes (*levibus mutationibus adjectis*).

Chapter 4—it is difficult to detail the contents of this chapter because the thoughts and words of other authors are worked into the text. It starts with a one-sentence introduction to a page-long text taken from a sermon of St. John Chrysostom. The thoughts and words of Acosta, taken from several places in his book, can also be found in this chapter; e.g., *De Proc. Indorum Salute*, Lib. II, c.17, pp. 242-43; Lib. IV, c.22, pp. 432-34.

Book Four, Part One.

Chapter 1—this chapter concerns mission methods. The first section contains the arguments of Acosta, almost literally, in which he seeks to show that the apostolic method cannot be exclusively observed among the Peruvian Indians. There is a problem concerning the arguments which follow and which differ from Acosta's opinion. Father Pammolli says that these are the arguments of Thomas a Jesu himself; Father Charles states that this chapter is taken entirely from Acosta and Bozius, which implies that they are Bozius' arguments.

Chapter 2—contains several lengthy quotations from the *Contra Gentiles*, cc.5 and 9 of St. Thomas Aquinas, and his *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q.1, art.4, ad 2.

Chapter 3—this chapter contains thirteen motives for the credibility of faith, taken from a number of sources. It is very difficult to pick one's way through this chapter, which is a veritable hodge-podge.

Chapter 4—a compendium of chapter 6 of the *Contra Gentiles* of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Chapter 5—composed almost entirely from passages taken from various places in the works of Acosta and Bozius.

Chapter 6—a literal transcription of chapter 2 of the *Liber de fide* written by William of Paris; nothing added by Thomas a Jesu except to note the source.

Chapter 7—contains historical instances of public disputations with infidels or heretics, but without reaching any conclusion regarding their lawfulness or expediency.

Book Four, Part Two.

Chapter 1—much is taken from the work of Acosta (Lib. II, c.17, pp.243-44; Lib. IV, c.16, pp. 406-09); also short excerpts from the New Testament, Dionysius' *De Divinis*

Nominibus, c.3 (or some other unknown author of this book), St. Augustine's *Confessions*, Lib.III, c.17, and some references to other works.

Chapter 2—most of it is taken from *Instructio Missionum* of Giovanni di Gesu-Maria and from the sermons of St. John Chrysostom.

Chapter 3—much of the chapter is taken from Acosta (Lib. II, c.17, pp. 244-45 and Lib. IV, c.18, pp. 414-16), and from the sermons of St. John Chrysostom.

Chapter 4—most of it is from the *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q.24, art.2 of St. Thomas Aquinas and from various writings of St. Bernard.

Chapter 5—contains a number of short excerpts from Acosta and Gregory the Great.

Chapter 6—the thought in general and at times even the words are of Acosta. Thomas a Jesu takes excerpts from several places in Acosta's work, sometimes acknowledging the source, sometimes not.

Chapter 7—Again the thought is that of Acosta, and even his words are borrowed with some slight changes, which however do not affect the ideas of Acosta substantially.

Chapter 8—14 of the 15 pages of this chapter are taken from Antonius Possevinus, *Bibliotheca Selecta*, Tom.I, Lib.4.

Chapter 9—unknown source; perhaps his own; as usual, there are a number of quotations from other writings.

Chapter 10—the greater part of the chapter is taken from Acosta's *De Proc. Indorum Salute*, Lib.IV, c.10, pp. 387-89; also Lib.IV, c.11, pp. 391-92.

Chapter 11—from the work of Acosta, *op. cit.*, Lib. IV, c.6, pp. 370-72 and Lib.IV, c.9, pp.381-86. Also two and one-half pages which contain the Apostolic Brief of Pope Paul V on the necessity of languages for missionaries.

Chapter 12—Thomas a Jesu wrote a one-sentence introduction to a six-page extract from *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* by Horatius Tursellinus published at Rome in 1594.

CHAPTER VII

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE WORKS OF GUBERNATIS AND BRANCATI

The two previous missiologists compared with Brancati preceded him in time. The book of Acosta on procuring the salvation of the Indians was first printed in 1588, whereas the first edition of Thomas a Jesu's work on the salvation of all peoples was published in 1613. Cardinal Brancati's mission treatise was published in 1673. The last author whose work has been chosen to be compared with that of Brancati is Dominicus de Gubernatis, another member of the Franciscan family. Gubernatis' work was published at Rome in 1689, sixteen years after Brancati's, and four years before the Cardinal died.

Dominicus de Gubernatis was born in Sospitello in the diocese of Turin. He entered the Order of the Strict Observants of the Franciscan family and belonged to the Province of St. Thomas. He was a lector of sacred theology and a chronologist of the whole Franciscan Order.¹ He conceived the idea of writing an ambitious work, planned for thirty-five volumes, to which he gave the title *Orbis Seraphicus*. Five of these volumes were published between the years 1682-1689, but the projected work was halted by his death in 1690.²

General Characteristics of Gubernatis' Work

The fifth volume of *Orbis Seraphicus* is concerned mainly with the history of the Franciscan missions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the islands of the Atlantic Ocean before the founding of the Propaganda in 1622. Preceding this mission history is a single tract entitled "De Missionibus Apostolicis in Communi," which takes up sixty of the six hundred and seventy-two pages of volume five. It is a short tract on missiology, particularly regarding the ancient Franciscan missions. The reason for inserting this tract he tells us at the

beginning: the accepted rules of philosophers require a definition of terms and a knowledge of the essence of something before descending to a knowledge of its operations. Before beginning a history of the missions, he saw fit to explain what was meant by the term "missions" and some of the fundamental ideas connected with this term.³ In the first five chapters he treated: the meaning of "mission" and its various kinds, the necessity of apostolic missions, the zeal of the popes for the missions, the office of apostolic missionary and its qualities, the manner of dealing with infidels. The following five chapters concern the Franciscan missions in particular: the organization called the "*Societas Peregrinantium pro Christo*," the apostolic privileges once given to Franciscan missionaries, the aptitude of the Franciscan Order for the missionary apostolate, instructions given to Franciscan missionaries by various Ministers General, and finally the manner of life of the Friars Minor in the apostolic missions. Since the first five chapters of this tract are of more general interest, only the doctrine contained in them will be compared with Brancati's doctrine.

Gubernatis begins the first chapter of his tract on the apostolic missions in general with a definition of "mission." It is "the procession of some agent from a principle to some term or to some new operation according to the intention prescribed by the sender, in such a way that it either begins to exist or to operate anew in that place where it previously did not exist or did not operate."⁴ This theological definition of mission given by Gubernatis is then divided into uncreated and created mission, insofar as they concern the missions of the Divine Persons or creatures; the latter is then subdivided into angelic and human missions; the latter in turn are subdivided into civil and spiritual; finally, spiritual missions are distinguished into immediate and extraordinary or mediate and ordinary. The sending of Moses and St. Paul are given as examples of immediate and extraordinary missions. Mediate and ordinary missions are exemplified by the sending of St. Peter and the other Apostles, with the exception of St. Paul; also, those sendings by the popes and bishops, the latter only for their own

dioceses. As an example of mediate and extraordinary mission he mentions the case in which the pope would send a legate into the territory of a bishop, without depending on the bishop in any way.

After giving these various divisions of missions, he then states that he intends to use the term in the sense of mediate and ordinary missions, namely, those missions whereby coadjutors are sent by the Roman Pontiff, and by those in the ecclesiastical hierarchy who have the legitimate faculty of sending others for the salvation of souls, especially for preaching the Gospel to unbelievers.⁵ The Apostles and their successors, says Gubernatis, were sent in the true and proper sense of the word. Since the scope of their apostolate was vast, they required assistants; priests, whether secular or religious, are *coadjutores episcoporum*. He then distinguishes between the missions before 1622, the year in which the Congregation of the Propaganda was founded, and those after that date. Even before 1622, he writes, apostolic approbation and commission was always required; the apostolic commission was given to the Minister General of the religious orders by the pope, and the Ministers in turn then approved the individual missionaries.

The concept of mission offered by Gubernatis is limited to the act of sending. Brancati's use of the term was more extensive, for he used it to indicate not only the act of sending but also the duties arising from this act, as well as the place where one has been sent to perform these duties. Gubernatis attempted a precise definition of the term by connecting it with the theological concept of "mission," as used in the tract on the Blessed Trinity. He was one of the first missiologists to attempt an explicit definition of the term in reference to the expansive activity of the Church. In discussing the end and objects of the missions in later chapters, his use of the term is less precise. Further discussion of his terminology will be postponed until these points have been examined.

The second chapter of Gubernatis' tract on general mission questions has to do with the necessity of apostolic missions. Missions are necessary, he says, because faith in Christ is

necessary for salvation; but faith comes from hearing, and hearing comes from preaching; therefore, he concludes, it is necessary to send missionaries to preach. Continuing, he shows what God has done in this matter from the beginning of the world: first, the promise of the Redeemer, then the sending of the prophets, and finally the sending of Christ the Redeemer Himself. He illustrates briefly the state of the world at his time in relation to the Faith of Christ—the vast numbers of pagans, Mohammedans, schismatics, and heretics in various parts of the world—and concludes that, at that time, there was a necessity for apostolic missions.⁶

Gubernatis and Brancati use the same general form of argumentation to show the necessity for missions in the seventeenth century, even though each develops this demonstration in his own way. The principal basis for this necessity was sought by both in the necessity of Faith and the fact that many people still did not possess the Christian Faith.

Illustration of Dependency of Gubernatis upon Brancati

Chapter Three of Gubernatis' tract on the missions concerns the zeal of the Roman Pontiffs for the missions. He notes that the popes have sent workers into the vineyard at the third, sixth, ninth and eleventh hours; that is, from the beginning of the Church the vicars of Christ have sent missionaries, and in other ways also have cared for the progress of the missionary apostolate. Having made this assertion, he sets out to illustrate the fulfillment of this duty by the popes. He does not intend to give a complete historical account, he says, but only enough to demonstrate the point. At the beginning of this historical demonstration is a marginal note which reads: Laur. in 3. Scot. tom.3 disp.15. a.7.⁷

It has already been noted that Brancati is often referred to as the "Cardinale di Lauria" in the Italian. Sometimes too he was known simply as "Laurea" or "Lauria."⁸ It was by this latter form that he was generally called by Gubernatis, as will be seen. For this reason Cardinal Brancati will be referred to

hereafter as "Lauria," in order to be consistent with the usage of *Gubernatis* and to avoid confusion.

The marginal note reproduced above refers to Tome Three of Lauria's (Cardinal Brancati's) Commentary on the Third Book of the Sentences of Scotus, Disputation 15, article 7. The citation is erroneous; Disputation 15 of this tome has only *four* articles. *Gubernatis*' reference should have been to Disputation 17, article 8, paragraph 1 of that tome, for it is there that Lauria treats of the diligence of the popes in sending missionaries. That this is really the reference that *Gubernatis* intends is evident from a comparison of the contents of Disputation 17, article 8, paragraph 1 with Chapter Three of *Gubernatis*' tract. It is confirmed also by the fact that there is another marginal reference in *Gubernatis*' work later on in this same chapter which correctly reads: Laur. Tom.3. disp.17 supra Tertium Scoti.⁹

In Disputation 17, article 8, paragraph 1, Lauria had made a list of examples of popes sending missionaries to different parts of the world. The list covers six pages and is gathered mainly from the *Annales* of Baronius. It includes some examples from Pope Clement I to Pope Clement VIII; Lauria gives about seventy examples between the years 100 A.D. to about 1600 A.D.

If a comparison of Chapter Three of *Gubernatis*' tract is made with the disputation of Lauria referred to above, it will be found that *Gubernatis* reproduced in a shorter manner the first thirty of these examples given by Lauria—omitting none, adding none. In other words, *Gubernatis* copied from Disputation 17 of Lauria the examples of popes who sent missionaries from the time of Pope Clement I to Pope Honorius III (1228 A.D.). At the end of this copying of Lauria's work, he wrote that he himself had read a continuation of these examples from Pope Honorius III to Pope Clement VIII in a compendium made by Lauria from the volumes of Baronius. This compendium was contained in the above-mentioned disputation. This admission by *Gubernatis* is contained in the text of the chapter itself and reads somewhat confusedly as follows:

... atque similiter ad omnes infidelium nationes sub-

sequentibus post Honorium III usque ad Clem. VIII feliciter continuatas adnotatas legimus a Cardinali Lauria in Tom. 3, disp.17. a.8 super tertium Scoti, legimus in compendio ex Baronio, simul ex Spondano et Oderico Baronii continuatoribus collectas.¹⁰

Later on *Gubernatis* refers once again to Lauria, in the same Chapter Three, when he notes that in more recent times the popes had not omitted to care for the spread of the Gospel in the New World, but had committed this care to the Spanish and Portuguese kings. This mention of Lauria is again found in the text:

Neque difformiter in Orbem Novum per Lusitanos atque Castellanos ausu foelicissimo a duabus saeculis patefactum omissae sunt a Petri Successoribus Apostolicae Missiones; ita ut, (quod et Cardinalis ipse Lauria eodem libro adnotavit) nulla jam in Orbe cognito detur Infidelium regio, quae Christi Evangelium non audiverit, vel saltem audire potuerit . . . Etenim praeter Missionariorum Hospitia, quae Lauria ipse recenset, (etsi quamplurima nostris Reformatis vel ex aequivicatione sua, vel per Amanuentium, aut Typographorum errorem ademerit.)¹¹

As can be seen above, *Gubernatis* notes that Lauria did not mention some places where the Observants had missions at that time. He is evidently referring to paragraph two of the same Disputation 17, article 8, in which Lauria presents a brief survey of the places where missions then existed and of the missionaries found in them. Lauria stated that he was unable to obtain complete and detailed information for every region.¹²

Chapter Four of *Gubernatis*' tract is concerned with the apostolic missionary himself and the traits he should possess. From a missiologial point of view, it is the most important of the ten chapters written by *Gubernatis* on general mission questions. As a matter of fact, this is the only chapter which Father Charles seems to find worthy of mention.¹³ Without any doubt, there is more substantial missiologial doctrine contained in it than in any of the other chapters. Chapter Four is very important to this study for the reason that it contains

so much of the thought, and even the language, of Lauria. The similarity of this chapter to the mission treatise of Lauria is strikingly apparent to one acquainted with the work of the latter.

Yet, despite the great similarity, there is no explicit mention of the fact that much of the matter contained in the chapter is taken from Lauria's work. There are only three references in the whole chapter to the treatise of Lauria, but none of them suggest that his treatise was the main source for most of the matters discussed in the chapter. Two of them tend even to suppress and hide that fact. The three references are brief and read:

- 1) Spond. in Epit. Annal. Baron. ad an 1029, n.1 etc.;
Laur. in 3. Scoti Tom.3.disp. 18.a.1.¹⁴
- 2) Spond. & Laur. cit.¹⁵
- 3) . . . de quo late videndi sunt Lauria, et alii de hoc
expresse tractantes.¹⁶

The first two references seem to suggest that Lauria's work is a secondary source only, whereas actually it is the primary source for the material of this chapter.

Chapter Four of *Gubernatis*' tract on general mission matters deals with the following topics: a discourse on the word "missionary" and its usage, what the office of missionary imposes, the purpose of the mission, the various qualities required of missionaries, the amount and kind of knowledge they should possess, their virtues and supernatural requisites—all of which Lauria had treated in his mission treatise. In order to demonstrate *Gubernatis*' dependence upon Brancati, some passages from each author are here reproduced:

Lauria

Fuit hoc nomen [Apostolus] impositum ab Atheniensibus, ad significandum Magistratum quendam, cuius officium erat, classem ordinare, ex Callepino V Apostolus. Fuit etiam impositum ad significandum literas, quas Judex, a quo fit appellatio, mittere de-

Gubernatis

Sicut Apostolatus nil aliud a missione, primaria sui significatione importat; unde et appellantes a Iudice inferiori ad Superiorem, apostolos petere dicuntur, videlicet litteras, quas Judex, a quo fit appellatio, mittere debet ad Iudicem, ad quem, cum instructione

bet ad Judicem ad quem, cum instructione causae, ita ex cap. *Ut super & cap. Ab eo. de Appellat.* in 6.¹⁷

causae, ut ex cap. *ut super, et cap. ab eo de appel. in 6. notatur*; etsi antiquius fuisse hoc nomen apud Athenienses legatur, qui Apostoli nomine magistrum illum appellabant, qui curare debebat ex officio pro recta, optimaque classis instructione, ut advertit Capelinus V Apostolus.¹⁸

Advertendum quod sicut Dominus Noster Jesus Christus a Patre missus ad redimendum genus humanum, et ad docendum viam salutis, misit duodecim Apostolos per universum mundum . . . ad docendam eius doctrinam et salutis viam . . . hoc tandem vocabulo Salvator noster dignatus est duodecim primos Discipulos tantum nominare . . . duodecim appellavit Dominus Apostolos; et licet Lucae cap. 10 alios 72 designaverit; tamen nec a Domino, nec ab aliis umquam appellati sunt Apostoli, sed Discipuli Domini.¹⁹

Ita Dominus Jesus Christus, qui se missum a Patre pro mundi salute confiteri non erubuit, illos duodecim viros, quos primario ad annuntiamdam in universo mundo salutem misit, Apostolos antonomastice nominavit; caeteros vero in adjutorium eis designatos, non Apostolos, sed discipuli titulo generaliter insignitos legimus in Evangelio, et ab Ecclesia.²⁰

Gubernatis began Chapter Four, as Lauria did his Disputation 18, with a discussion of the term *apostolus*. The thought of the texts quoted above is similar; the meaning of the term is first sought from its use among the Athenians, and then its meaning as used by Christ and the Evangelists. From there Lauria went on to say that the terms *apostolus* and *missus* were synonymous, and that the latter was identical with *missionarius*. Finally he explained the relationship between *apostolus* and *missionarius*: although they are synonyms, the former cannot be predicated of all of the latter, but only of the Twelve Apostles. The same thought is found in Gubernatis' work:

Lauria

Missus et Apostolus sunt synonyma.²¹

Quamvis omnes, qui ad Infideles, vel ad Haereticos amandantur ad annunciandum Dei verbum, dicantur vere Missi, seu Missionarii Christi; et possent communi vocabulo appellari etiam Apostoli; tamen, ex usu Ecclesiae et ipsius Scripturae, ob dignitatem Apostolicam duodecim a Christo sic appellatorum, et ad universitatem hominum transmissorum, non possunt appellari Apostoli.²³

Gubernatis

Missus ergo et Apostolus sunt synonyma.²²

Etsi ergo nomen missi, seu Missionarii ex scripturae ac Ecclesiae phrasi omnibus iis competere, non dubitemus, qui vel a Deo, vel ab aliis nomine, et vice Dei ad annuntiandum, praesertim Infidelibus Dei verbum; atque voluntatem legitime mittuntur; appellari autem simpliciter non debent in usu Ecclesiae, immo et scripturae, ob illorum duodecim dignitatem atque reverentiam, quos ab ipso Christo legimus ad universitatem hominum Ministros Evangelii missos, et Apostolos specialiter ab ipso nominatos.²⁴

Gubernatis then goes on to say that the name of "Apostle" is not so rigorously prohibited that it cannot be applied to one who is responsible for the conversion of an infidel nation so long as it is qualified, such as "The Apostle of England," or the "Apostle of the Indians." He mentions the case of St. Martialis, who was invoked under the title of Apostle in both the Mass and Office in Aquitania, and with the consent of Pope John XXII, who decreed that this custom should be continued. These same ideas are expressed by Lauria in article one of Disputation 18, even the singular example of St. Martialis.

Turning to the duty of a missionary, Gubernatis takes not only the teaching of Lauria but, almost literally, his words:

Lauria

Munus missionarii est Evangelium, Fidemque Catholicam in locis suae missionis, Paganis, Judaeis, atque Haereticis praedicare et Sacramenta eis necessaria, juxta facultates sibi concessas a mittente, ministrare.²⁵

Gubernatis

Officium ergo missionarii est Evangelium, Fidemque Catholicam in suae missionis districtu omnis generis infidelibus annuntiare; illisque juxta facultates a mittente sibi concessas, sancta Sacramenta administrare.²⁶

The expression of the purpose of the mission likewise bears a close resemblance. Lauria expressed it in terms of bringing the sheep wandering outside the sheepfold into the fold, which was a departure from the customary phraseology employed by writers at that time. Therefore, to find it used by Gubernatis as well is more than a mere coincidence.

Lauria

Alius enim non est missionum finis, quam alias oves, quae extra ovile Ecclesiae sunt, ex Joan. 10, 16, ad ovile Ecclesiae sub uno Pastore reducere, easdemque per viam salutis deducere, ac regere.²⁷

Gubernatis

Nec enim alius est Missionum finis, quam oves illas, quae extra Ecclesiae ovile vagabantur errantes, ad Ecclesiam ipsam sub uno Pastore reducere; atque per viam salutis ad aeternae vitae portum deducere.²⁸

Then Gubernatis turns to discuss the requirements of missionaries, and says that three things are required: proof of the authenticity of his mission, sufficient doctrine and probity of life. These three points he treats briefly, and then adds that there are other requisites as well, which for the sake of greater clarity can be divided into natural, moral, and supernatural qualities.

Lauria

Advertendum quod eiusmodi requisita triplicis generis esse possunt. Quaedam enim sunt naturalia, quaedam moralia; quaedam tandem supernaturalia, tam interna, quam externa . . . Dico naturalis praecipua, quae requiruntur in Missionario . . . regulariter sunt: aetas provecta, seu virilis; notitia idiomatis regionum et sufficiens scientia.²⁹

Gubernatis

Possunt autem haec ipsa majoris claritatis gratia optime sic dividi, ut alia dicantur in Apostolico Missionario requisita naturalia, alia moralia, et alia supernaturalia. Prima sexum virilem importat, aetatem provectam, sive virilem atque notitiam idiomatum illius Regionis ad quam est destinandus, et doctrinam sufficientem.³⁰

It will be noted that in the text above Gubernatis has added the requirement of male sex under the natural requisites. Lauria had treated this in a previous article in which he dis-

cussed the status of persons who can be sent to evangelize. In that article he showed that only men can be missionaries in the strict sense, for only they can be commissioned to preach and administer the Sacraments.³¹

The most notable feature, found in both the texts from Lauria and *Gubernatis*, is the division of qualities into natural, moral, and supernatural. This division, which was originally done by Lauria, is very unusual. Its inclusion in the work of *Gubernatis* is in itself a particularly strong indication that he took his missiological doctrine from Lauria, for it would be highly improbable to assume that both men would have made the same unorthodox division independently. As will be seen, not only the division but all that falls under the division is also utilized by *Gubernatis*. The reason for using this division *Gubernatis* himself tells us: it is for the sake of clarity. This is an indirect tribute to the clarity arising from good order and system in the work of Lauria.

In his work Lauria stated that, as a rule, the office of missionary should not be entrusted to the laity but that one ought to have received at least the order of diaconate. *Gubernatis* repeats the same thought:

Lauria

Etsi aliquando Laicus aliquis ex Dei inspiratione et Episcopi jussione missionis munus obierit, vel ex Romani Pontificis delegatione; tamen regulariter et communiter non debet hoc munus Laicis imponi . . . De reliquibus Ecclesiasticis, hi omnes sunt ad missiones apti, episcopi, sacerdotes, tam saeculares, quam regulares. Item diaconi saeculares et regulares, ex dispensatione episcopi in sua diocesi, Papae vero per totum mundum et in quavis determinata parte mundi.³²

Gubernatis

Etsi namque Laicus aliquis legatur ex speciali Dei inspiratione, vel etiam ex Episcopi, sive Papae delegatione, tantum munus obisse; tamen cum hoc sit propriissime munus Ecclesiasticum, ac doctrinas Ecclesiasticas supponat, solis Ecclesiasticis Sacerdotibus, sive diaconis est regulariter imponendum, ut in Sacris Canonibus decernitur.³³

Lauria discussed in some detail the amount and kind of knowledge that missionaries should possess. Gubernatis made a summary of Lauria's conclusions but without showing how or why these conclusions were reached, as Lauria had done. The pertinent excerpts from Lauria's conclusions will be given first and then Gubernatis' resumé of them:

Lauria: Cum igitur haec docere debeat, ea saltem tenetur scire: omnia nempe credenda, sive explicite, sive implicite tantum, et omnia agenda, quae ad salutem conducunt . . . Missionarius debet habere notitiam Sacrae Scripturae utriusque Testamenti summariam saltem atque compendiosam materiarum, quae in eis continentur. Et propterea Sacra Biblia secum retinere.

Infero (2) Missionario necessariam notitiam et libros aliquos eorum, qui Sacram Scripturam sunt interpretati et penes Ecclesiam in existimatione habentur; ut sensus difficiles, juxta Ecclesiae sensum intelligens, possit aliis explicare. Et propterea aliquis etiam Theologus doctus in qualibet missione est necessarius, ad quem coeteri Missionarii pro dubiorum solutione recurrant.

Infero (4) esse Missionario necessariam notitiam et aliquod breve compendium Canonum doctrinalium ab Ecclesia editorum circa credenda, et agenda, cum in Scriptura non habeantur haec omnia explicite, ut patuit ex disput. 5.

Infero (5) esse Missionario necessariam notitiam Catechismi et Ritualis, Calendarii, ac praeceptorum Ecclesiae et ipsosmet libros de his tractantes, ut si Deus conversiones concedat, possit convertendos et conversos in necessariis ad salutem instruere, eisque Sacramenta rite ministrare.³⁴

Gubernatis made a summary of Lauria's teaching as follows:

Debet ergo Missionarius omnia vel explicite vel implicite credenda, simul et omnia agenda, et ad salutem necessaria scire, ut ea docere possit eos, quos ad Fidem convertere intendit; hinc sacra Biblia saltem compendiose callere debet, secum semper habere, et aliquos libros sacrae Scripturae primarios expositores, ideoque in omni Missione necessarius est saltem aliquis Theologus, ad quem in dubiis habeant caeteri recursum, qui etiam Canonum doctrinalium ab Eccle-

sia editorum circa credenda et agenda possideat notitiam; cum haec omnia non sint in Scriptura explicite declarata. Unde Catechismi, Ritualis atque Kalendarii Romani debet esse peritus, ad hoc ut perfectius, securius et facilius illos edocere valeat, quorum Deus corda tetigerit ad conversionem.³⁵

In outlining the moral qualities required of missionaries Lauria made use of the orderly outline of the cardinal virtues. For another author to use this same outline would not be at all unusual; however, when a later author agrees with one before him in specifying the manner in which these virtues apply to missionaries in particular; when the second author uses the same examples, the same reasons, and the same Scripture texts as the earlier writer, then it is not a mere coincidence but an obvious case of dependence of the second author upon the first. A comparison of the treatment of these moral qualities by *Gubernatis* with the treatment of them by Lauria shows just such dependence.

Lauria

Dico primum morale requisitum in Missionario est prudentia in docendo et operando pro conversione animarum. Probatur ex Matt. 10, 16. Salvator, electis jam duodecim Apostolis, missurus eos ad Evangelizandum, omnium primo, ait: Ecce, ego mitto vos, sicut oves in medio luporum; estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices, sicut columbae. Ergo. In quo autem consistat haec specialis Missionariorum prudentia, praeter eam, quae requiritur in omni agente rationali explicatur a Salvatore ibi, addens: Cavete autem ab hominibus.³⁶

Alia virtus moralis necessaria in Missionario, est Fortitudo

Gubernatis

Inter moralia Missionario necessaria primo loco est prudentia, non illa tantum universalis, quae in omni agente rationali exigatur; sed illa specialis, quae praecipitur a Salvatore; Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae; cavete autem ab hominibus; ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum.³⁷

Est et necessaria fortitudo in arduis laboribus, in perferen-

in aggrediendo arduos labores et in perferendo calamitates, persecutiones et omnis generis incommoda . . . neque expectare debet, ut sibi infundatur; et in aggrediendis arduis non assuetus, sed timidus et in perferendis nocuis, mollis, ac delicatus se ad missiones accingere, neque Superiores hunc debet mittere.³⁸

dis angustiis, necessitatibus, calamitatibus, persecutionibus, aliisque incommodis, imo et ipsa morte, si opus fuerit . . . non ergo mittendi sunt iracundi, molles, rixosi, delicati et huiusmodi, quibus et se et alios perdendi maius est periculum.³⁹

The first moral requisite, according to Lauria, is prudence; not only that general prudence which is required of all men, but that special type of prudence which will incline him to beware of the traps and snares of men. He refers to the tenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. *Gubernatis* repeats the same thought: prudence is the first moral requisite; a special sort of prudence is required for missionaries, and that special kind is found mentioned in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, chapter ten. The second moral requisite mentioned by both Lauria and *Gubernatis* is fortitude, and the reasons advanced by both are practically identical. Both likewise warn that those who are delicate and unaccustomed to hardships should not be sent. They both continue with the other two moral requisites:

Lauria

Tertia moralis virtus in Missionario necessaria est justitia . . . Ideo ut Apostolos erudiret in hac virtutis materia, cum Herodiani et Phariseorum Discipuli interrogarent: licet ne census dare Caesari, an non? Respondit: Reddite, quae sunt Caesaris Caesari; et quae sunt Dei, Deo.⁴⁰

Quarta virtus in Missionario requisita est temperantia, tam circa sensualia et corporalia quam circa spiritualia. Prob. de primis exemplo Christi et

Gubernatis

Tertia virtus est justitia missionario necessaria, quam Christus Apostolos docuit, dum Herodianis respondit: Reddite quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari, et quae sunt Dei, Deo.⁴¹

Occurrit ultimo loco temperantia, tam circa temporalia, quam circa spiritualia necessaria. De prima praemoniti sumus a Domino: Ne solliciti

apostolorum, circa victus, ac vestitus mediocritatem; et ex eius praecepto Lucae 21, 39: Attendite autem vobis, ne forte graventur corda vestra crapula et ebrietate et curis huius vitae. Matt. 6, 19. Ne solliciti sitis animae vestrae quid manducetis, neque corpori vestro, quid induamini. Nonne anima plus est quam esca, et corpus plus quam vestimentum? etc.⁴²

sitis animae vestrae quid manducetis, aut corpori vestro, quid induamini.⁴³

The order of these four virtues is exactly the same in the works of Lauria and Gubernatis. The New Testament texts chosen by Lauria in the above passages to demonstrate the need of justice and temperance in missionaries were also used by Gubernatis. In connection with temperance Lauria also cites passages from the tenth chapter of Isaias and the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. These same passages are found in the tract of Gubernatis.

Following the same order as did Lauria, Gubernatis then proceeds to discuss the supernatural qualities required of missionaries. They are the same in both authors: the missionary must be baptized, confirmed, and at least a deacon; moreover, he should have faith, hope, and charity.

Lauria

Missionarius debet esse baptizatus; nec sufficit esse catechumenus . . . Missionarius debet esse confirmatus . . . Missionarius debet esse ordinatus, vel episcopus, vel simplex sacerdos, vel saltem diaconus.⁴⁴

In Missionario deputando requiritur Catholica fides, ex actibus externis comprobata . . . requiritur charitas in Deum et proximum ex operibus externis comprobata . . . Spes

Gubernatis

Supernaturalia tertio loco requiruntur in Missionario: ut nempe sit baptizatus, (non tantum catechumenus) confirmatus, ordinatus sacerdos, vel saltem diaconus de lege ordinaria.⁴⁵

Praecipue vero requiruntur in missionario fides, spes et charitas in Deum et proximum theologicae, ut secure tot, tantisque, quae nec imaginatione comprehendi possunt,

naturalis in Missionario est necessaria . . . Si missionarii tot incommoda sustinentes et tot periculis cruciatuum ac mortis expositi, spem supernaturalem, id est salutis non haberent, essent insani.⁴⁶

vitae incommodis, angustiis, laboribus, necessitatibus, persecutionibus, immo et morti pro Christo, et proximi salute valeat occurrere.⁴⁷

Gubernatis then closes Chapter Four with a very brief summary of some other subjects contained in the same order, although at greater length, in the work of Lauria:⁴⁸ the missionary should go to the place assigned by the superior and not elsewhere except in case of necessity; he should exercise his mission according to the tenor of his letters patent, whether he be a prefect or subject; the need of assiduous prayer for missionaries, a good life, renunciation of all material things, and confidence in God.

An examination of Chapter Four of Gubernatis' work reveals that the major part of the contents both in amount and in importance is taken from the mission treatise of Lauria. There are only four other subjects contained in Chapter Four: a short treatment to show that the missionary should be able to prove the authenticity of his mission, a brief reference to the contents of Chapter Twelve of the Rule of St. Francis in which the missions are mentioned, the role of lay-brothers in the missions, and a short transcript from the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith regarding the sending of missionaries. These are subjects proper to Gubernatis and not found in the work of Lauria. But the principal points of missiological doctrine found in Chapter Four of Gubernatis' tract are borrowed from Lauria's work. Not only are the subjects treated by both men the same, but they are found in the same general order in the work of Gubernatis as they are found in Lauria; the language is very similar; the division of the qualities of missionaries is identical; there is the same application of the moral virtues to missionaries, and the same Scriptural texts to illustrate this application. Even the same reasons to prove a given point are offered by both; for example, Lauria gave as one of the reasons for the necessity of mature age in

a missionary the fact that prudence, which comes from experience—according to the teaching of Aristotle—ordinarily is not found in youths. In extraordinary cases, such as that of Daniel in the Old Testament, a younger man might possess prudence in a high degree; if so, lack of a mature age should not be a barrier to becoming a missionary. This same argument of Lauria is repeated by Gubernatis, even to the inclusion of the dictum of Aristotle and the example of Daniel's prudence.⁴⁹

Chapter Five of Gubernatis' tract bears the title "De Modo Proficiendi inter Infideles." An examination of the contents shows that about one-third of it bears the imprint and influence of Lauria's work, while two-thirds of it is proper to Gubernatis. Although the amount of material in this chapter taken from Lauria is less than that contributed by Gubernatis himself, the most valuable portion of the chapter is precisely that which is taken from Lauria.

About half of the chapter is devoted to a description of eight classes of "infidels." Gubernatis' division of "infidels" is more interesting than useful. The eight classes are: atheists, idolators, philosophers (those who know God, but hold that our own powers are sufficient both to know and to attain Him), politicians (those who confess God orally, but really worship politics), Mohammedans, Jews, all heretics and schismatics taken together, and finally bad Catholics.⁵⁰ The description and reasons why they are called "infidels" take up about three of the six pages of this chapter.

Before classifying these groups, Gubernatis had distinguished both a primary and a secondary object of the mission. The primary object, according to him, is the glory of God through the salvation of souls; the secondary object is the conversion of infidels and all those wandering from the path of salvation.⁵¹ Defining the secondary object the way he did is undoubtedly the reason for including bad Catholics in this object. Unfortunately his work in attempting to define the term "mission," undertaken in his first chapter, is largely undone by this specification of the secondary object of the mission. Practically speaking, all areas of the world would be

mission areas and all priests would be missionaries, for in every inhabited region could be found either infidels or Catholics; and reality forces us to state that among the latter would be some bad Catholics. Since they too would be the object of the missions, it would follow that missions would be found even in regions where the Church was firmly planted. Even at best, the only criterion one can use according to this teaching to separate mission areas from non-mission areas is the presence or absence of bad Catholics; but this is a judgment which is best left to God. There is no clear and consistent concept of mission in the missiological tract of *Gubernatis*.

Twice during the description of these eight classes of "infidels" *Gubernatis* alludes to *Lauria*; once, when he refers the reader to the *Commentaria* of *Lauria* for arguments to be used against atheists, and the second time when he refers the reader to *Lauria* again for arguments against the third class of people to be converted, the philosophers.⁵² *Gubernatis* himself does not give any directions for the conversion of these eight classes, but after describing them, says that this description should suffice for the instruction of the missionary and that for the rest, he ought to have recourse to theological treatises.⁵³ As a matter of fact, he did not treat the manner of living or action among infidels—which is the presumed subject of Chapter Five, according to its title—but for this knowledge he directs the reader elsewhere, especially to the mission treatise of *Lauria*.

In the beginning of the chapter he writes that without any doubt missionaries are bound to that manner of life prescribed for the Apostles in the Gospel. But instead of explaining and discoursing on this manner of life, he refers the reader to the evangelical examples gathered together abundantly by Cardinal *Lauria* and Thomas a Jesu.⁵⁴ Only in passing does he have anything to say about violence and the missions; missionaries may use no form of force whatsoever in propagating the Faith. A marginal note refers to *Lauria* and reads simply:

Laur. *ibid.* disp. 18, nu. 222.

His text and the corresponding text in *Lauria* are as follows:

Lauria

Prohibitum est Missionario procurare, ut per vim, bella, aliudve genus rigoris compellantur infideles ad suscipiendam fidem . . . Loquor autem hic de Missionario, non de Principibus, neque de Romano Pontifice id permittente, vel connivente in istis.⁵⁵

Gubernatis

Illud item avertant, ne procurent ut infideles ad Fidem per vim, bella, vel aliud rigoris genus compellantur. De Missionariis loquor, non de principibus.⁵⁶

Then *Gubernatis* mentions briefly the necessity of peace, concord, and sincere charity among missionaries, noting that one of the reasons why these may be lacking is the disagreement over the method of teaching infidels. In this brief way he summarizes the content of Disputation 18, article 10, of *Lauria's Commentaria*, where the same subject is treated at length.

From this point on in Chapter Five, in a little over one page, *Gubernatis* presents a very brief summary of *Lauria's* teaching. In one lengthy paragraph he manages to list most of the main headings found in *Lauria's* entire Disputation 19, and in the same order in which *Lauria* treats them. In this single paragraph *Gubernatis* merely states that the time, place, and occasion will indicate when and how to preach; the prudent missionary will know how to deal differently with pagans, Jews, and heretics; the prudent missionary likewise will know what he should say, when and where, whether in public or in private; he will know what order to follow in proposing the articles of Faith, whether he should accept a challenge to work miracles or excuse himself. All these, and other matters regarding the exercise of the office of missionary, he says, should be read in the works of Cardinal *Lauria*, Thomas a Jesu, and others who treat these matters *ex professo*.⁵⁷ Thus does *Gubernatis* dispose of these subjects, notwithstanding the promises and implication contained in the chapter's title.

Because *Gubernatis's* summary of the remaining doctrine of *Lauria* is so very succinct, it is difficult to find specific texts for comparison. Nevertheless, the two which follow will indicate that the same procedure of borrowing the thought of *Lauria*

was continued by Gubernatis. The first refers to the prohibition of certain means in the work of evangelizing; the second contains a warning to the negligent missionary.

Lauria

Missionariis prohibitum est uti humanis, seu mundanis mediis, et artibus in suo munere exercendo, nisi sint media licita et conferentia ad aperiendum ostium Evangelio. Probatur prima pars exemplo Christi et Apostolorum, qui in praedicatione usi non sunt humanis artificiis, artibus curiosis, secretorum notitis, astrologia, donis, servitutibus, as-sentationibus, et caeteris huiusmodi, sed divino tantum auxilio freti . . . evangelizarunt.⁵⁸

Missionarius negligens quocunque expreaefatis modis, iram et indignationem Dei super se irruituram timere debet . . . probari tandem potest exemplo Legatorum omnium principum, qui in suo munere sunt negligentes, desides, vel quod indignitus est, deficientes . . . Missionarii autem, ut in disp. 18, art. 1 ex Apostolo diximus, legatione funguntur pro Christo.⁶⁰

Gubernatis

Sed generaliter in omnibus est cavendum Missionario prae caeteris, ne humanis, sive mundanis utatur mediis, et artibus in suo exercendo ministerio: nec enim Christus aut Apostoli artiis huiusmodi curiosis artibus, astrologia, secretorum notitia, donis, servitutibus, ostentationibus usi sunt in praedicatione, sed divino freti auxilio Gentibus evangelizarunt.⁵⁹

Noverint se supremi Regis esse Legatos ad Gentes, et de poenis contra infidos Legatos exerceri solitis attenta cogitatione pertimescant.⁶¹

The following five chapters in the mission tract of Gubernatis concern subjects on which Lauria did not write. These subjects, while of little interest from the point of view of general missiology, have a value for the student of the Franciscan missions.

Below is a recapitulation showing the relationship, where it occurs, of each of the first five chapters of Gubernatis' tract to the treatise of Lauria.

- Chapter I—this concerns the definition and division of the term “mission”; it bears no relation to the work of Lauria.
- Chapter II—this deals with the necessity of the apostolic missions; Lauria also wrote on this subject, but in a different manner; hence no dependence of Gubernatis on Lauria here.
- Chapter III—the examples given of the popes sending out missionaries are unquestionably taken from Lauria’s treatise.
- Chapter IV—the most important chapter from the point of view of missiological doctrine and the chief basis for Gubernatis’ reputation as a missiologist; the most valuable part of this doctrine is without doubt taken from the mission treatise of Lauria.
- Chapter V—purports to treat of the manner of living and action among infidels; however, half of the chapter is taken up with a description of eight classes of “infidels”; in the other half Gubernatis summarizes the subject headings of Lauria’s doctrine on the manner of living and acting among infidels, and refers the reader to Lauria’s treatise for the actual treatment of the matter itself.

Gubernatis complained that Lauria did not include all the places where the Observant Franciscans, to which branch of the family Gubernatis belonged, had missions.⁶² Lauria, however, explained that the list was not complete due to his inability to get complete information. With far greater reason Lauria might have complained that Gubernatis did not mention clearly and explicitly that he was borrowing heavily from the book of the Cardinal, though there is no evidence that such a complaint was made. There are, it is true, some explicit references to Lauria’s work in Gubernatis’ book, but apparently they have proven insufficient for some modern readers to detect the fact that Gubernatis borrowed the doctrine of Lauria.

On an unnumbered page before the Index of Volume Five, Gubernatis lists the authors whom he cites in that volume. The name of Lauria is missing from this list. As a result many have seen the work of Gubernatis without realizing apparently that a large portion of the missiological doctrine contained in it was not his own. Streit only refers to Gubernatis’ book as a work on the history of the Franciscan missions.⁶³ Schmidlin gave a brief resumé of the work and simply wrote: “The

sources are the same as those used by Acosta and Thomas a Jesu, especially the Bible, Fathers, and Theologians.”⁶⁴ Charles notes that Gubernatis treats principally of the Franciscan missions, and that he also writes summarily on mission doctrine in Chapter Four.⁶⁵ Paventi adds that Gubernatis’ exposition of mission doctrine is conducted in Scholastic terminology.⁶⁶

Judgment of Two Modern Writers

Nearly twenty years ago Father Carlo Longhi wrote a thesis on the intellectual formation of missionaries from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in which thesis he quoted the teaching of Gubernatis along with other missiologists of the past. In his book Father Longhi writes that Gubernatis wrote much and *with clarity* on the subject of the intellectual formation of missionaries. He also stated that Gubernatis applied *Scholastic terminology with skill* in his brief but *clear tract on mission theory*.⁶⁷ Father Longhi was quoting Gubernatis in reference to the necessity of an intellectual formation, the kind and amount of knowledge necessary, the need of knowing the language of the region—all of which points Gubernatis took from Lauria. It is significant that Father Longhi cites only the important Chapter Four of Gubernatis’ work which is more Lauria’s than Gubernatis’. The tribute then of being clear, and of being a skillful application of Scholastic terminology to mission theory, belongs rightly and properly to Lauria, from whom the thoughts and even the terminology were taken by Gubernatis.

More recently an article was published in *Missiones Extranieras* by P. Pedro de Anasagasti, O.F.M. entitled “Tres Misionologos Frente a la Vocacion Misionera: Jose de Acosta, Tomas de Jesus y Domingo de Gubernatis.”⁶⁸ In this article Father Anasagasti examined the missionary vocation as it is treated in the works of these three missiologists. He stated that Gubernatis was only one of the three to treat the missionary vocation *ex professo* and that Gubernatis sought to capture the essence of it and transmit it to posterity.⁶⁹ Of Gubernatis he writes: “Well versed in dogma, his tract on the missionary

vocation is a doctrinal exposition from solid principles, which are confirmed by the frequent and pertinent citation of Sacred Scripture, the primary doctrinal source of his writing."⁷⁰ In the light of what has been seen in this chapter, it is more correct to say that the primary source of Gubernatis' doctrine was the work of Lauria, who based *his* doctrine on solid principles taken from the Sacred Scriptures.

The first part of Father Anasagasti's article concerns the sublimity of the missionary vocation. Here he quotes from the work of Gubernatis the text reading:

Noverint missionarii se supremi Regis esse Legatos ad Gentes, et de poenis contra infidos Legatos exerceri solitis attenta cogitatione pertimescant.⁷¹

The similarity of this text with one of Lauria's has already been noted.

Later on in the article Father Anasagasti writes, "Gubernatis encompasses the qualities of a missionary in three species, a division which we will follow in order to give more order and clarity to the considerable theory of the missionary elements. Within this division we shall point out the more characteristic ideas on the diverse qualities in each of the three missiologists."⁷² In a footnote Father Anasagasti refers to Chapter Four of Gubernatis' work, in which the latter assumed the three-fold and unusual division, made originally by Lauria, of the qualities of missionaries. This division of qualities into natural, moral, and supernatural, each with its own subdivisions, is used by Father Anasagasti in his article. The reason for using this division was, he wrote, "to give more order and clarity to the considerable theory of the missionary elements." Once again this is an indirect tribute to the order and clarity to be found in the mission treatise of Lauria. It is unnecessary to quote further from Father Anasagasti's article; it suffices to record that he based his appraisal of Gubernatis' work entirely on Chapter Four of it, which chapter is taken in large part from the treatise of Lauria.

Thus, both Father Longhi and Father Anasagasti have words of praise for Gubernatis' brief tract on mission theory.

Their judgments are quite acceptable. They are also quite significant, for they contain implicit evaluations of Lauria's mission treatise. The points they found worthy of mention—the order and clarity, the solidity of doctrine, the skillful application of scholastic terminology—although directly predicated of Gubernatis' tract, are indirectly predicated of Lauria's treatise, since they based their judgments mainly, if not exclusively, on that chapter which is largely constituted from the mission treatise of Lauria.

Father Anasagasti noted that, although Acosta and Thomas a Jesu did not write *ex professo* on the missionary vocation, Gubernatis did. While it is true that Gubernatis did, Lauria had done this before him. It was Lauria who sought *ex professo* to capture the essence of the missionary vocation and transmit it to posterity; Gubernatis capitalized on Lauria's work and utilized it to a large extent in his own.

Perhaps the highest tribute paid to the work of Lauria is this very utilization of it by his contemporary, Gubernatis. The latter himself proceeded systematically, as can be seen from the opening words of his tract on the missions;⁷³ he wished to begin with an investigation of the essence of his subject before writing a history of the Franciscan missions. He evidently sought a work which he might use in exposing a mission theory clearly, succinctly, and systematically. The work he chose and used was the mission treatise of Cardinal Brancati, whom he held in high esteem.⁷⁴ In so doing Gubernatis made an implicit recognition and acknowledgment of its merits.

CONCLUSION

At the end of this study it remains only to summarize the results of it. The mission treatise of Cardinal Brancati consists of two parts, one historical, the other doctrinal. In the first part Brancati presented a historical survey of the propagation of the Faith from the beginning of the Church up to the seventeenth century, concluding the survey with a picture of the mission world in 1670. While admittedly incomplete and too meager to be of service today as a source for the history of the missions, it was sufficient for his purpose: to demonstrate for the benefit of students the providence of God and the diligence of the Church and the popes for the propagation of the Faith.

The doctrinal section of the treatise concerns mainly the missionary vocation itself, its requisites, its end or purpose, and the methods to be used in carrying out the office of missionary. To a certain extent Brancati's treatise can be considered as a work on general mission theory, for it contained the substance and general truths found in works on mission theory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it condensed them and made them palatable for students who would be missionaries. But since the outlook of the treatise concerns the role played by the individual missionary, it is perhaps more correct to characterize it as an *ex professo* treatise on the missionary vocation.

It seems that Brancati wrote his treatise both for the education and apostolic formation of missionaries. He was an exemplary religious as well as a learned Prince of the Church, and the influence of his life of prayer can be discerned in his evident desire to inspire and form apostolic missionaries as well as instruct them. His treatise reflects this religious and spiritual orientation, for he always relates external methods of evangelization to the missionary's own internal spirituality,

from which they ought to flow. Therefore, it can be said that he wrote on the mission apostolate as exercised in the concrete by the missionary; his work assisted the mission apostolate through its attempt to assist the individual missionary.

Inasmuch as Brancati's treatise consists of three disputations added to the tract *de Fide*, it is not a complete work by itself. It was intended as a supplement to the regular theological course, to give students a general knowledge of the mission apostolate. Judged according to the theological curriculum of the age, it could have served that purpose well. In saying that it was incomplete, not only the above factor must be taken into consideration, but also the fact that it was written at a time when the status of the missions was in a period of transition from state control to ecclesiastical control, and that the organization of the missions under a special hierarchical form was only then taking shape. It was impossible therefore to discuss many points which are discussed by modern missiologists. The treatise was much more complete in relation to the age in which it was composed than in relation to the modern age, since much mission organization and theory have developed since Brancati's time.

The doctrine contained in the treatise is sound, being based on the solid foundation of Scripture and Tradition. Some of the conclusions reached, although too restrictive for the modern conception of the mission apostolate, were in harmony with the common outlook of that period; hence, Brancati does not deserve the criticism of Father Charles on this point. The conclusion, for example, that the sole occupation of the missionary was to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments was based on seventeenth century mission theory and practice, even though this conclusion is considered too narrow in the modern science of missiology.

In treating the missionary vocation, Brancati emphasizes in many ways its great dignity, and although he is idealistic, yet he avoids the exaggerations of a romantic conception of the vocation. He is realistic in insisting that only men tried in

virtue and able to endure hardships should be sent, and in demanding high standards both by way of spiritual and practical preparation. Both Monsignor Paventi and Father Charles note that his treatise contains wise recommendations and counsels for missionaries of any age. Even today the treatise can serve as an excellent source for matter on the missionary vocation, due both to its excellent texts from the Scriptures and Fathers, and to the orderly manner of treatment, as well as to the precision of thought and expression.

Brancati's treatise is of interest and importance because of his many curial positions in the Holy See, especially because of his position as Prefect of Studies at the Urban College of the Propaganda. As Father Charles points out, his words bore authority. Moreover, the publication of his treatise by the Propaganda indicates that the doctrine contained in it conformed to the mind and practice of this Congregation in the seventeenth century.

The treatise is written in a modified form of the Scholastic method combined with the positive method. This use of the Scholastic method gave to it both order and clarity, a fact noted explicitly by Father Charles and Monsignor Paventi, implicitly by Gubernatis and Fathers Longhi and Anasagasti.

In comparing Brancati's treatise with the works of his contemporary missiologists, the following results were found. Acosta's work was a complete treatise of missiology, but only for the Indian missions of America. Brancati's treatise, on the other hand, had a universal scope. Acosta's work is clear, based on sound principles, and has the added advantage of being written by an experienced missionary. For this reason it is more realistic and immediately practical than the work of Brancati.

Thomas a Jesu compiled various sources to form a work which also has a universal mission object. While the individual sources used are good in themselves, the passages taken from them do not form a unified theory of mission doctrine. His work is best described as an encyclopedia of mission doctrine,

but it does not present this doctrine in a systematic manner. Since the work consists largely of texts copied from other authors, it lacks the unity of composition and thought required to constitute a logical and well-developed theory. For the same reason it has the defect of being unclear.

The treatise of Brancati has more unity, order, and clarity than the work of Thomas a Jesu, since it was written in a systematic manner by one author. Brancati did make a synthesis of mission science, especially of that part which concerns the missionary and his office.

Considering the above three works together, it can be said that Acosta's book was systematic and complete, but for the Indian missions only. Thomas a Jesu collected sources for the missions in general, but did not organize these sources to form a satisfactory mission theory. Brancati formulated most of the general principles regarding the mission apostolate of his age, especially of those regarding missionaries themselves, and organized them into a systematic whole. In organizing and systematizing these principles, Brancati made a distinctive contribution to mission science.

The mission tract of Gubernatis also presents an orderly and clear exposition of some mission theory. A large part, and in fact the most important part, of his theory is taken from the mission treatise of Brancati. Gubernatis was more of a mission historian than a missiologist. Unwittingly, however, he did Brancati a service in borrowing his doctrine from him, for it indicates the value placed upon it by a contemporary.

The reconditeness of Brancati's treatise can be explained by the fact that it is hidden in a *Commentary on the Book of Sentences*, which is an unlikely source for even an academic missiologist to look in for a missiological writing. It was evidently not discovered by Father Streit, when after two centuries of comparative stagnation in mission writings, he began to complete his *Bibliotheca Missionum*, which is the most complete bibliography on mission literature. This may be partly due also to the fact that Brancati's *Commentaria* were not

listed in the card file of the Propaganda Archives as late as October of 1956. Yet, as has been seen, his treatise has been indirectly, and even unknowingly, approved and acclaimed.

One final aspect of this treatise deserves mention. It was written by one who had spent many years of his life in the safeguarding of the Faith through his work in the Holy See, especially in the Holy Office, and in an indirect way in its propagation as well. It is the contribution to the mission apostolate by a Prince of the Church and is but another indication of his life-long devotion to the cause of the Faith of Christ.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹ "Autobiographia Cardinalis Laurentii Brancati de Laurea" in *Miscellanea Franciscana*, XL (1940), 77-102. Ed. by P. Lucian Ceijssens, O.F.M.

² *Ibid.*, in the introduction, p. 74.

³ P. Bartholomaeus Comandus, O.F.M.Conv., *Vita F. Laurentii Brancati de Laurea*, Romae, 1698.

⁴ Gabriele Baba, *Vita del Cardinale Lorenzo Brancati de Lauria*, Romae, 1699. Tip. Bernabo.

⁵ Giovanni Franchini, O.F.M.Conv., *Bibliosofia e Memorie Letterarie di Scrittori Francescani Conventuali*, Modena, 1693, pp. 387-398; Vincenzo Coronelli, O.F.M.Conv., *Biblioteca Universale Sacro-profana, Antico-moderna*, Tom. VI, Venezia, Tramontin 1706, col. 1045-1055; Dominicus de Gubernatis, O.F.M., *Orbis Seraphicus*, Lugduni, 1685. Tom. II, Liber IX, cap. 9, n. 154.

⁶ Sbaralea-Rinaldi, *Scriptores Franciscani ab anno 1650 ad annum 1750*. Mss. c. 90 in the archives of the General Curia of the Conventual Franciscan Order; Nicolaus Papini, *Scriptores et Doctores Ordinis Minorum Conventualium ab anno 1650 ad annum 1830*. Cod. mss. c. 128 in the same Curia archives, pp. 153-154, n. 440; Joanne a San Antonio, *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana*, Matriti, 1732. Tom. II, 271-272.

⁷ Marinus a Floriano, O.F.M.Cap., *De Viris Illustribus Ordinis Minorum*, Romae, 1914, pp. 189-193.

⁸ Hurter, *Nomenclator Litterarius Theologiae Catholicae*, Oeniponte, 1910; 3 ed., Tom. IV, col. 351-355; *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, Paris, 1923. Tom. IX, p. 1, col. 13-15; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1907, Vol. II, p. 738; *Kirchenlexikon*, Freiburg, 1887, Vol. II, col. 1192-1194; *Dictionnaire D'Histoire et de Geographie Ecclesiastiques*, Paris, 1938, Tom. X, col. 396-398.

⁹ Remigius Ritzler, O.F.M.Conv. and Pirmin Sefrin, O.F.M.Conv., *Hierarchia Catholica Medi et Recentioris Aevi (1667-1730)* Pataviae, 1952, Vol. V, p. 12.

¹⁰ Domenico M. Sparacio, O.F.M.Conv., *Il Cardinale Lorenzo Brancati*, Gubbio, 1924.

¹¹ Since it was the custom among Franciscans to add their city of origin to their name in order to differentiate those with similar names, he is sometimes listed in catalogues, indices, etc., under "Laurea," or "Lauria" as well as "Brancati."

¹² Cf. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-392; also Coronelli, *op. cit.*, col. 1047-1048.

¹³ Comandus, *op. cit.*, p. 37. "Studiorum de Propaganda Fide Collegii Prefectura, qua instructoribus praefuit alumnorum ex tot locis, ex tot regionibus, ubi vel haeresis impune grassatur, vel dominatur impietas atque perfidia."

¹⁴ Cf. Nicola Kowalsky, O.M.I., *Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide*, Roma, 1956, p. 23.

¹⁵ For example, after enumerating the various offices held by Brancati, Comandus writes: "Quin ea fuit semper in existimatione apud Christi Vicarios, ut honorifica munera, quae numquam Conventualium Ordo suis collata recenset, se subsequuta obstuperit"; *op. cit.*, p. 35. De Gubernatis, *loc. cit.*, states: "... praeter innumeras et maximas Religionis suae curas, haec extra Religionem primaria decem officia immensa cum laude sustinuit." Similar eulogies are accorded Brancati by all his biographers.

¹⁶ Ritzler-Sefrin, *op. cit.*, V, 12. It is noteworthy that Pope Innocent XI did not confer the purple on any except those whom he considered worthy of this high honor. A man of high principle and intent solely upon the glory of God and the good of the Church, he chose his cardinals without regard for any other interest. *Cf.* Baba, *op. cit.*, p. 44; also Pastor, *History of the Popes*, transl. by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B., St. Louis, Missouri: 1940, XXXII, 413. Pastor notes that Pope Innocent XI stated publicly in June of 1677 that he would create no man cardinal unless he was most worthy. That this recently beatified pope created Brancati is a high tribute to the outstanding qualities of the latter.

¹⁷ Ritzler-Sefrin, *op. cit.*, V, 12.

¹⁸ P. Lucian Ceijssens, O.F.M., in his introduction to the *Autobiographia* of Brancati writes: "Quisquis enim nobiscum incubuit rebus sive Gallicanis sive Jansenisticis, scit Laurentium Romae magnas habuisse partes in his quaestionibus solvendis, sed scire difficillimum est quas praecise partes." The reason is because "ipsa documenta circa Lauream sat rara sunt aut reconduntur in locis inaccessibilibus." *Cf. Miscellanea Franciscana*, XL (1940), 73-74.

¹⁹ "... S. Sedis brachium dictitasse jam constet." Comandus, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁰ *Cf. Kirchenlexikon*, II, 1193. Donovan writes in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 738, "Brancati would in all probability have succeeded Innocent XI in the chair of St. Peter, had not the Spanish government used its right of veto. As it was he received fifteen votes."

²¹ Brancati's piety, as well as his learning, is emphasized by all his early biographers; e.g., Coronelli, *op. cit.*, col. 1042; Comandus, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53; Baba, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.

²² *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 738.

²³ Noris, H., O.S.A., *Vindiciae augustinianae*. Lipzia, 1677, Cap. 3, par. 5.

²⁴ *De Servorum Dei Canonizatione*, III, 26.

²⁵ Stephen Donovan, O.F.M., in his article on Brancati in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 738.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

¹ Laurentius Brancati, *Commentaria in Tertium Librum Sententiarum Joannis Duns Scoti*, Tomus III, pars 2a, Romae 1673 (Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide), Disputationes XVII, XVIII and XIX. This is the only edition of Brancati's *Commentaria*. All subsequent references will refer to Tom. III, pars 2a unless otherwise noted.

² This dedication is found at the beginning of Tom. III, pars 1a; the facts of publication are the same as in the above note.

³ Cf. Pierre Charles, S.J., *Dossiers de L'Action Missionnaire*, Louvain, Editions de L'Aucam, 2e edit. 1938-39, p. 418; also Mons. Paventi, *La Chiesa Missionaria*, Roma, 1949, I, 158. Such a treatise is lacking, for example, in the following representative theologians of the 17th century: Banes, O.P., *Commentaria in Secundam Secundae S. Thomae*, Duaci, 1615; de Valentia, S.J., *Commentaria Theologica*, Tom. III, Lugduni, 1609; Estii, *Commentaria in Quattuor Libros Sententiarum*, Tom. I, Duaci, 1616; Suarez, *Opera*, Tom. XI, Lugduni, 1621; Tanner, *Theologia Scholastica*, Tom. III, Ingolstadt, 1626; de Lugo, S.J., *Tractatus de Virtute Fidei Divinae*, Lugduni, 1646; Ysambertius, *Disputationes in Secundam Secundae S. Thomae*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1648; Becano, S.J., *Summa Theologiae Scholasticae*, Pars. III, Tract. I, Rothomagi, 1657; Gonet, O.P., *Clypeus Theologiae Thomisticae*, Tom. IV, ed. 3a, Parisiis, 1669; Mastrius, O.F.M.Conv., *Disputationes Theologicae in Tertium Librum Sententiarum*, ed. novissima, Venetiis, 1675; Sylvius, *Commentaria in Secundam Secundae S. Thomae*, editio 4a correctior, Antwerpiae, 1697; Stapleton, *Relectio Scholastica Principiorum Fidei*, Lovanii, 1596. Nor is there anything corresponding in any of the works of St. Robert Bellarmine.

⁴ In saying that Brancati used the Scholastic method in his mission treatise, reference is not made to that form of it used by St. Thomas Aquinas or St. Bonaventure, but rather to that modified form of it in combination with the positive method which developed after the rise of Protestantism and which was more adapted to overcoming the new heresies. The subject matter of his mission treatise is partly historical and of such a nature that a purely speculative method could not be used. When Brancati first began writing his *Commentaria*, he used the speculative method of argumentation almost exclusively. After he became Custodian of the Vatican Library, he began to base his reasons more on the stable foundation that Scripture, the Fathers, Councils, and other sources of Tradition offered. Cf. Coronelli, *op. cit.*, col. 1053. For a good discussion of Brancati's method and use of sources in his theological writings, see Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., *Il Pensiero di Giovanni Duns Scoto nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, Roma, 1927, pp. 153-184.

⁵ This reason is given in the preface to Disputatio XVII, which begins his mission treatise.

⁶ "Sed ob tyrones nostros, Dei primum, et Ecclesiae Romanae et episcoporum; secundo, providentiam ac diligentiam in Fidei propagatione, paucis demonstrationibus facti patefaciam." Disp. XVII, art. 5, n. 228.

⁷ "Operae pretium esse putavi . . . de Fide tractatum adicere, tamquam de argumento instituti mei rationi maxime congruente, nec solum divulgato more, nobiliores quasque disputationes exhibere, sed et ipsius propagationem . . . tradere." This declaration of intention is found in the dedication of Tome III, pars 1a, to Pope Clement X.

⁸ Cf. Nicola Kowalsky, O.M.I., *Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propagan-*

da Fide, Roma, 1956, p. 24. Father Kowalsky also gives on page 23 a list of works which were recommended for study by the students, none of which contains matter specifically missionary.

⁹ Disp. XIX, art. 10, n. 213.

¹⁰ "Sa parole faisait autorité." Pierre Charles, S.J., "Missiologie Anti-feministe," in *Le Role de la Femme dans les Missions* (Rapports et Compte Rendu de la XXe Semaine de Missiologie du Louvain, 1950) L'Edition Universelle, S.A., Desclee, De Brouwer & Cie, Paris, p. 21.

¹¹ *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Romae, 1893, I, 35.

¹² *Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, Romae 1888, I, 417-18.

¹³ Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, trans. Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Mission Press: Techny, Illinois, 1933), p. 264.

¹⁴ For a brief historical survey of this period of the missions, cf. Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-266 for the revival of the missionary movement at home; pp. 475-483 for the rite and jurisdiction controversies. For the mission activity of the popes, cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, transl. Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. (B. Herder Book Co.: St. Louis, Mo., 1940), XXX, 190 ff. for Pope Innocent X; XXXI, 406 ff. for Clement IX; XXXII, 458 ff. for Innocent XI.

¹⁵ "... et lector monetur, quod aliquae tantum missiones hic referuntur." Disp. XVII, art. 8, n. 442. For other instances of the use of the term in this sense, cf. Disp. XVII, art. 7 and 8, *passim*.

¹⁶ "Cum autem Apostoli in civitatibus mixtis ex fidelibus et infidelibus existerent, missionem se perficere non putabant, nisi et infidelibus praedicarent." Disp. XVII, art. 6, n. 353. He speaks of others performing their mission in Disp. XVII, art. 7, nn. 399 and 415.

¹⁷ "Si quis a Romano Pontifice instituitur missionarius, nulla sibi determinata provincia, potest per omnes mundi partes missionem exercere." Disp. XVIII, art. 6, n. 142.

¹⁸ "... placuit hic subnectere, in genere, omnia loca totius mundi, in quibus hoc tempore adsunt stabilitae ac fixae missiones." Disp. XVII, art. 8, n. 530.

¹⁹ "... juramentum eundi ad quascunque missiones . . ." Disp. XVII, art. 8, n. 525. Again, "... enim statuto tempore votum quartum emitunt, eosque se adstringunt de parendo Summo Pontifici in missionibus, ad quas ab eo fuerint destinati." *Ibid.*, n. 529.

²⁰ "Inter praeparatoria et dispositoria missionis opera, speranda non est distincta notitia status missionis." Disp. XIX, art. 1, n. 29.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹ Gen. 49, 10.

² Pss. 2, 8; 21, 28-29; 71-8; 71, 17-19.

³ Isa. 5, 9; 11, 10; 60, 3; 66, 19.

⁴ Zach. 1, 10; Mal. 1, 11.

⁵ John 10, 1-19.

⁶ Matt. 28, 20.

⁷ *Martyrologium Romanum* in Migne, P.L., 94, 799 ff; *Theatrum Conversionis Gentium Totius Orbis* of Arnoldus Mermannius (Cf. *Bibliotheca Missionum* I, n. 114); Caesar Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Vol. I-XII, Romae, 1593-1607; Vol. XII-XV cont. by Odericus Raynaldus, Romae, 1646-1652. Although he had read other historians, Brancati learned ecclesiastical history *ex professo* from Baronius, as he writes in his *Autobiographia* (cf. *Miscellanea Francescana*, XL (1940) 85. Brancati also made an alphabetical compendium to the first 15 volumes of the *Annales*. This work entitled, *Index Alphabeticus Rerum et locorum omnium memorabilium ad Annales Cardinalis Baronii*, was published posthumously by his friend, Joanne de Lima et Mello, Romae (Typis Bernabo) 1694.

⁸ Disp. XVII, art. 5, n. 228. See note 6 in Chapter II.

⁹ Cf. Nicola Kowalsky, O.M.I., *Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide*, Roma, 1956, pp. 21-24 for the organization of studies at the Propaganda College at this period of its history.

¹⁰ "De anno Christi 140 et circa, per omnes totius orbis nationes ac regiones Christiana fides erat dilatata; et in iis omnibus aderant Ecclesiae, seu coetus fidelium." Disp. XVII, art. 5, n. 230.

¹¹ Cf. Disp. XVII, art. 5, *passim*.

¹² Disp. XVII, art. 7, n. 370.

¹³ *Ibid.*, n. 414.

¹⁴ Disp. XVII, art. 8, par. 2, nn. 531-541.

¹⁵ "Le tableau des missions vers 1670, extrait des archives de la Propagande, est un modèle de confusion. Chypre est placé entre la Chine et la Cochinchine; on ne parle de Goa que pour mentionner des Théatins et des Carmes; au Brésil les missionnaires sont les seuls Capucins, tout comme in *Anglia* et in *Gallia*. On affirme qu'au Japon (en 1670!) ce sont les Jésuites qui missionnent." Pierre Charles, S.J., *Dossiers de L'Action Missionnaire*, Louvain, Editions de L'Aucum, 2e edit., 1938-39, p. 418.

¹⁶ *Le Missioni Cattoliche*, Roma, 1946.

¹⁷ Urbano Cerri, *Stato della Religione Cattolica in tutto il Mondo*, Roma, 1677.

¹⁸ "Proposueram loca etiam particularia referre . . . in quibus praefati, sive episcopi, sive saeculares presbyteri, sive regulares suas exercent missiones, sed quia omnium notitiam ab omnibus habere non potui, et proluxa fuisset de eis texenda oratio, libenter omisi." Disp. XVII, art. 8, par. 2, n. 541.

¹⁹ *Le Missioni Cattoliche*, 1950 edition, p. 302.

²⁰ Whether heretics and schismatics ought to be included along with infidels in the mission object was a moot point among missiologists in the early part of the twentieth century. Cf. Mondreganes, *Manuale di Missionologia*, Roma, 1950, pp. 8-11.

²¹ The entire discussion of this question is contained in Disp. XVII, art. 7 & 8.

²² Disp. XVII, art. 6, n. 349.

²³ Disp. XVII, art. 7, n. 366.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 411.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 369. Here Brancati refers to the First Council of Constantinople, the Second and Third Councils of Carthage, and to the epistles of Popes Damasus, Calistus I, Sixtus II.

²⁶ It has already been noted that this is not historically true.

²⁷ On Jan. 28, 1585; referred to by Brancati in Disp. XVII, art. 7, n. 422.

²⁸ In Disp. XVII, art. 7, nn. 370-410, Brancati offers examples, citing among others the case of St. Francis of Assisi preaching the Christian Faith to the sultan of Egypt.

²⁹ Disp. XVII, art. 8, n. 425.

³⁰ John 21, 15-17.

³¹ Disp. XVII, art. 8, par. 1 and 2.

³² Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*, Antverpiae, 1613. Book II of this work is devoted to a lengthy discussion of this very question. The first four Books of this work were published in a critical edition by Tommaso di Gesu (Pammolli), O.C.D., Roma, 1940.

³³ Cf. Saverio Paventi, *La Chiesa Missionaria*, Roma, 1949, p. 14.

³⁴ "Nomen missionarii, seu missi, ex Scripturae et Ecclesiae phrasi competit iis, qui, vel a Deo, vel ab aliis, nomine et vice Dei mittuntur ad annuntiandum Dei verbum et voluntatem." Disp. XVIII, art. 1, n. 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, nn. 5-14.

³⁶ "Munus missionarii est Evangelium fidemque catholicam in locis suae missionis, paganis, Judaeis, atque haereticis praedicare et sacramenta eis necessaria, juxta facultates sibi concessas a mittente, ministrare. Probatur: Isti, loco et vice Apostolorum in praedicatione succedunt. Sed illi haec omnia facere poterant ac fecerunt juxta facultatem sibi a Christo collatam . . . ergo hoc idem est munus missionarii." Disp. XVIII, art. 1, n. 15-16.

³⁷ "... Episcopus (qui primarii sunt missionarii Apostolorum loco) ..." Disp. XVII, art. 8, n. 429.

³⁸ "Alius enim non est missionum finis, quam alias oves, quae extra ovile Ecclesiae sunt, ex Joan. 10, 16, ad ovile Ecclesiae sub uno Pastore reducere, easdemque per viam salutis deducere ac regere; id autem fit praedicatione Fidei." Disp. XVIII, art. 1, n. 17.

³⁹ Brancati reproduces a sample letter as follows: "Sanctissimus D.N. Papa N. Te Fratrem N. cum sociis (vel sine) destinavit et mittit praefectum missionis N. ut cum facultatibus tibi per alias litteras concedendis, Evangelium D.N. Jesu Christi annuncies, et gentes illas doceas servare quaecumque Sancta Mater Ecclesia Catholica et Apostolica Romana praecipit et mandat, fidemque nostram catholicam propagare studeas ad judicium universale futurum eisdem contesteris." Disp. XVIII, art. 1, n. 18.

⁴⁰ A contemporary, Dominicus de Gubernatis, distinguished between the primary and secondary purposes of the missions, but did not give any specific end.

⁴¹ For example, in the Bulls for the erection of the Congregation of the Propaganda and the institution of the Urban College, the phrases "Ad fidem propagandam," "ad fidem dilatandam," "ad fidem tuendam," and other similar ones recur. For the first Bull, cf. *Juris Pontificis de Propaganda Fide*, I, 2ff; for the second Bull, *ibid.*, 87ff.

⁴² "Tales sunt missionarii, qui Christi nomine ab eius vicario in ministerium conversionis hominum et Ecclesiae dilatationis mittuntur . . .

Fidem, et Ecclesiam aliquam in aliqua regione, ut sapientes architecti fundant missionarii." Disp. XVIII, art. 3, n. 42.

⁴³ Cf. pp. 13-14, Chapter II.

⁴⁴ See note 41 above. Even as late as Nov. 30, 1919, Pope Benedict XV wrote in his Apostolic Letter "Maximum Illud,"—"Missionarius . . . non est aliam ob causam missus a Deo, nisi ut Evangelium praedicaret." A.A.S. XI (1919), p. 448. There are many references in this Letter to the preaching of the Gospel or the propagation of the Faith, but none to the establishment of the Church, which is of later origin. P. Italo Paulon, S.X., in his book on the specific purpose of the missions, after reviewing the theories of the missiologists at the beginning of this century, wrote that their predominate idea was twofold: the preaching of the Gospel and the conversion of souls. Cf. Paulon, *Plantatio Ecclesiae, Il Fine Specifico delle Missioni*, Roma, 1948, p. 44.

⁴⁵ Luke 10,16.

⁴⁶ I Cor. 4,1.

⁴⁷ 2 Cor. 2,15.

⁴⁸ Matt. 13,3.

⁴⁹ Matt. 5,13.

⁵⁰ I Cor. 4,14.

⁵¹ Isa. 52,7.

⁵² Matt. 5,19.

⁵³ Disp. XVIII, art. 4, nn. 51-56.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 59.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 61.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, nn. 65-70.

⁵⁷ Pierre Charles, S.J., "Missiologie Antifeministe," in *Le Role de la Femme dans les Missions* (Rapports et Compte Rendu de la XXe Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain, 1950) L'Edition Universelle, S.A., Desclee, De Brouwer & Cie, Paris, pp. 20-22. Cf. also Charles, *Dossiers*, p. 418.

⁵⁸ Father Charles erroneously states that Brancati was a Consultor and later Secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda as well.

⁵⁹ Disp. XVIII, art. 4, nn. 51-58.

⁶⁰ Charles, "Missiologie Antifeministe," p. 21.

⁶¹ See Note 34 of this chapter.

⁶² The term "missionarius" is used in a juridical sense for men only; cf. C.I.C., cc. 295-307; also cf. *Maximum Illud*, A.A.S. XI (1919), pp. 445-452 *passim*.

⁶³ Father Charles apparently understands Brancati's use of the phrase *per accidens* to mean *exceptional*; the Cardinal used it to signify that the assistance of women in the spread of the Gospel in the early days was not *official*, hence *per accidens*.

⁶⁴ The Lazzarists did call the Daughters of Charity to Madagascar, but this was one of the few instances of feminine participation in mission work in that century.

⁶⁵ "Sa parole faisait autorite." P. Charles, "Missiologie Antifeministe," p. 21.

⁶⁶ As a matter of fact, the actual influence of anti-feminism, in a derogatory sense, as an explanation for the relative absence of women in the missions in the past is very difficult to ascertain since so many other factors must be taken into consideration.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Maximum Illud*, loc. cit., p. 451 and *Fidei Donum*, A.A.S., XXXIX (1957), 246.

⁶⁸ For this controversy and the part played by Thomas a Jesu, cf. Tommaso di Gesu (Pammolli), O.C.D., *Il P. Tommaso di Gesu e la sua Attivita Missionaria*, Roma, 1936, chaps. 3, 4, and 6.

⁶⁹ Disp. XVIII, art. 5, nn. 78-82. It is noteworthy that the General Statutes accompanying the Apostolic Constitution, "*Sedes Sapientiae*," re-stated this age limit of about thirty years for the final formation of apostolic priests. (Art. 51, par. 1.)

⁷⁰ This need was expressed by the Council of Vienna, and by the decrees of Paul V and Urban VIII, to which Brancati refers. Disp. XVIII, art. 5, nn. 84-85.

⁷¹ Disp. XVIII, art. 5, nn. 92-98.

⁷² *Cf.* note 32 of this chapter.

⁷³ Disp. XIX, art. 1, nn. 28-29.

⁷⁴ Disp. XVIII, art. 5, par. 1, nn. 99-110.

⁷⁵ Disp. XVIII, art. 5, par. 2, nn. 131-140.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹ Disp. XVIII, art. 6, n. 145. Brancati refers to the response of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith on Aug. 5, 1630. Later, however, the Congregation permitted missionaries to use their faculties while en route in places where there were no priests, but this use was restricted to eight days. Even more extensive permission under certain conditions was given Mar. 22, 1669. Cf. *Collectanea*, I, 43; 189. Brancati does not mention this, but only the response of Aug. 5, 1630.

² *Ibid.*, nn. 150-151.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 149.

⁴ Before the founding of the Propaganda there were no general formulas nor general norms for the concession of faculties. Later, more uniformity in granting faculties was realized according to the following criteria: the varying conditions of an Order according to its various provinces, the distance and difficulty of approaching the Holy See, and the quality of the persons to whom they were granted (superiors or simple missionaries). On Feb. 10, 1637, the pope approved five different formulas: one for the bishops of Asia, Africa, and America; another for the bishops of Europe located among infidels far away from the Holy See; another for European bishops in places closer to Rome; another for Prefects of missions; and the last for ordinary missionaries. Cf. Cosmas Sartori, O.F.M., *Juris Missionarii Elementa*, editio altera, Roma, 1951, pp. 74-75.

⁵ Mark 16,18.

⁶ Brancati here apparently speaks with personal knowledge from his connection with the Congregation of Rites, for he speaks about miracles needed for recent canonizations.

⁷ Disp. XIX, art. 7, nn. 141-155.

⁸ Matt. 10, 5-16; Luke 10, 3-12. Disp. XVIII, art. 7-9.

⁹ Charles, *Dossiers de L'Action Missionnaire*, p. 18. "Card. Brancati a Laurea . . . traite en trois *Disputations* les questions missionnaires, mais avec une méthode fort défectueuse . . ."

¹⁰ "Quelques auteurs, comme Brancati a Laurea, ramènent fort arbitrairement toute la doctrine missionnaire aux préceptes que Notre-Seigneur donne aux apôtres en les envoyant dans les villes où lui-même doit passer." *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹¹ "La vie et l'action du missionnaire sont, d'après Brancati (art. 7 & 8) réglées par Notre-Seigneur lui-même dans les instructions données aux soixante-dix disciples (Mt. 10)." *Ibid.*, p. 418-419.

¹² "Si on excepte le P. Joseph Acosta (1588), on peut dire que Brancati a Laurea est le premier en date qui ait traité les questions de missiologie." Charles, "Missiologie Antifeministe" in *Le Role de la Femme dans les Missions* (Rapports et Compte Rendu de la XXe Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain, 1950), p. 21.

¹³ "Leur valeur d'ensemble est assez contestable. On nous dit, par exemple, que la vie et l'action du missionnaire doivent être calquées sur les instructions que Notre-Seigneur donna aux soixante-dix disciples (Mt. 10) et qu'il faut donc toujours dire: Pax huic domui en entrant dans une demeure; qu'il faut secouer la poussière de ses souliers sur le seuil quand on n'est pas reçu; qu'il faut prendre ses repas chez les gens, et

annoncer que la venue du royaume est proche; mais que le missionnaire a cependant le droit de posséder des vêtements de rechange, un baton de voyage, et même un petit porte-monnaie et des chaussures. Ce ne sont là que des détails, qui nous montrent l'idée que se faisait le cardinal Brancati des conditions du travail missionnaire." *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Disp. XVIII, art. 7-9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, art. 7, nn. 155-156.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 157.

¹⁷ The conditions making flight lawful or unlawful are treated by Brancati in Disp. XI, art. 6.

¹⁸ That is, these things are not forbidden to missionaries as such, although they may be forbidden to regular missionaries by reason of their Rule.

¹⁹ Brancati refers to the decrees of Urban VIII, Feb. 22, 1633, and of Clement IX, June 17, 1669. *Cf.* Disp. XVIII, art. 9, n. 210.

²⁰ "Haec, meo videri, sunt quae reddunt perfectum hominem Dei et sunt valida ad conversiones infidelium incentiva." Disp. XVIII, art. 7, n. 171.

²¹ Disp. XVIII, art. 10. This entire article seems to have been occasioned by the controversy over rites and jurisdiction, which was being carried on at that time in the Orient. Brancati was undoubtedly concerned with this question in his position as consultor to the Holy Office; yet nowhere in this article does he give the slightest hint as to his opinion in the matter.

²² I Tim. 3,5.

²³ *Cf.* e.g. Disp. XVIII, art. 6 for decrees regarding the travel of missionaries, the prohibition of using their faculties while en route, their obedience to the bishop of the place in regard to their apostolate and to their religious superior in regard to their Rule. *Cf.* Disp. XIX, art. 3 on the knowledge required for Baptism according to the Council of Trent. It must be admitted that, as yet, there was not much ecclesiastical legislation which was specifically missionary, apart from the faculties for missionaries. For a brief conspectus of mission law, *cf.* Sartori, *Juris Missionarii Elementa*, editio altera, Roma 1951, pp. 17-19.

²⁴ Disp. XIX, art. 1, nn. 1-17; also Disp. XIX, art. 9, n. 199.

²⁵ Disp. XIX, art. 1, n. 18.

²⁶ Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 67.

²⁷ Missionarius non debet statim totam legem prolixo sermone eis proponere; sed paulatim debet catechizare, incipiens a propositione mysteriorum, Dei, Trinitatis, Incarnationis et aeternae vitae credendorum, ac necessitatis Baptismi." Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 68.

²⁸ Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 69; *cf.* Matt., 28, 19-20; Mark 16, 15-16; Acts 2, 14-41.

²⁹ Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 70; *cf.* I Cor. 3,2.

³⁰ "Confirmatur ex facto Apostolorum. Ipsi enim non obligabant convertendos statim et ante conversionem ad credendum vel sciendum distincte ac explicite omnia credibilia, sed Trinitatem et Incarnationem. Immo cum Petrus Act. 2, 3 & 4, conciones illas praeclaras habuit, aliud non praedicavit quam Jesum Christum; quem credentes Judaei baptizati sunt. Postea vero oportuit, ut alia eos edoceret." Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 72.

³¹ "Sic ergo faciendum cum infidelibus convertendis; nam se habent, sicut fideles primitivae Ecclesiae. Primo igitur de his praecipuis; postea de aliis sunt edocendi." Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 72. *Cf.* also Disp. XIX, art. 4, n. 98 where he says: "Recordetur tamen missionarius, ut dixi in praecedenti articulo, quod convertendi per ipsum, sunt similes iis, qui tempore

Apostolorum conversi sunt, ideo sic tractandi; nempe, ut non obruantur, et confundantur initio ac simul longa narratione omnium credendorum et agendorum. Sed aliqua prima ac substantialia objecta, ut unitatem Dei ac Trinitatem Personarum, Incarnationem Verbi ac mortem Christi pro nobis, et vitam, ac mortem aeternam, postea alia proponat."

³² See above note.

³³ Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 73.

³⁴ Disp. XIX, art. 3, nn. 74-76.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, nn. 80-81.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 82.

³⁷ The question at the beginning of article 3 of Disp. XIX is as follows: "Quos articulos Fidei debeat Missionarius primo proponere infidelibus?" This and the entire context of this article indicate that Brancati's primary consideration was the order in which Christian truths should be taught to infidels, even though he concludes: "Non est absolute necessarium ut semper servetur hic ordo proponendi mysteria Fidei infidelibus." (n. 84) That he restricts the meaning of catechumen to those under instruction before Baptism is confirmed by the fact that he qualifies the term, e.g. by saying: "those catechumens desiring to come to the Faith" (n. 73), "those catechumens disposing themselves to the Faith" (n. 80), as well as one explicit reference to "other things which ought to be taught to disposed catechumens before Baptism" (n. 77).

³⁸ Here he refers to the Second Council of Bracanga (or Bracanza), held in 573-574 A.D.

³⁹ Disp. XIX, art. 3, n. 76.

⁴⁰ Disp. XIX, art. 4, n. 99.

⁴¹ Disp. XVIII, art. 9, n. 214.

⁴² These motives are: the fulfillment of prophecies, the concordance of the Scriptural writers, the diligence of those who received the primitive revelation, the reasonability of revelation, the unreasonableness of doctrines opposed to revelation, the stability of the Church, the clarity of miracles, the conversion of learned men to the Faith by unlearned men, and the fact of martyrdom. Brancati merely mentions them in Disp. XIX, art. 5 since he had treated them more at length in Disp. VII, art. 5 and Disp. VIII, art. 3.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

¹ Acosta, Jose de, S.J., *De Natura Novi Orbis Libri Duo, et De Promulgatione Evangelii Apud Barbaros, sive, De Procuranda Indorum Salute, Libri Sex, Coloniae Agrippinae*, 1956. The most exhaustive and authoritative modern source for the life and mission activity of Acosta is that of Leon Lopetegui, S.J., *El Padre Jose de Acosta, S.J. y las Misiones, especialmente americanas, del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1942. We have used this work especially, as well as other sources cited herein, in preparing this chapter.

² Cf. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Tome I (Münster, 1916), 73; cf. also Lopetegui *op. cit.*, pp. 434-444 where he names those influenced by Acosta and the extent of this influence.

³ Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, foreward, pp. 99-111. Also cf. Lopetegui *op. cit.*, pp. 211-214 for the origin of this work of Acosta.

⁴ Streit, *op. cit.*, I, 73. "Acosta schrieb aus der Praxis für die Praxis."

⁵ Acosta, *De Procuranda*, Lib. I, c. 1 and 2, pp. 112-122.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Lib. III, c. 2, p. 254-255.

⁷ Brancati, Disp. XVII, art. 7, n. 421.

⁸ Cf. Lopetegui, *op. cit.*, p. 255, footnote 72 in which he lists twenty-one names or phrases in place of the word "missionary."

⁹ Paventi, *La Chiesa Missionaria*, I, 16.

¹⁰ Acosta, *De Procuranda*. He uses the phrase "salus Indorum" not only in the title but in Lib. I, c. 1; "propagatio Evangelii" in Lib. I, c. 9; "Praedicatio Fidei" in Lib. I, c. 2 and 3; "praedicatio Evangelii" in Lib. II, c. 1 and 12.

¹¹ Lopetegui, *op. cit.*, p. 270. "La propagacion de la fe y la promulgacion del Evangelio, con la alusion explicita y constante a la salvacion de las almas, paracen dominar de una manera mas abundante y expresa."

¹² Brancati, Disp. XVIII, art. 1, n. 17.

¹³ Acosta, *De Procuranda*, Lib. V, c. 21, p. 506.

¹⁴ Lopetegui, *op. cit.*, p. 308-309.

¹⁵ Acosta, *De Procuranda*, Lib. IV, c. 10, pp. 387-391. "Scientiae vero is modus eaque mensura, quae communiter opportuna est, ut sciat quae forma catechismi servanda, quis ordo sacramentorum tenendus, quantum sibi liceat in absolutione, quae sint reservata crimina, quae praevilegia Neophitorum a summis Pontificibus data, caeteraque talia, quorum notitiam ex Concilio Provinciali Limensi petere potest."

¹⁶ Brancati, Disp. XVIII, art. 5, n. 86. "Neminem ad missionem idoneum reputari, nisi doctrina Evangelii ab Ecclesia jam declarati, fuerit optime instructus."

¹⁷ Pope Benedict XV, "Maximum Illud," A.A.S. XI (1919), 448.

¹⁸ Acosta e.g. discusses chastity and the abdication of temporal things in Lib. I, c. 12; the excellence of the priestly office in Lib. IV, c. 1; the need of knowing the language in Lib. IV, cc. 6-8; the amount of knowledge required in Lib. IV, c. 10; prudence and tolerance in Lib. VI, c. 14.

¹⁹ Acosta, *De Procuranda*, Lib. IV, c. 10, pp. 388-389.

²⁰ Acosta, *ibid.*, Lib. V, cc. 1-4. Chapters 1 to 15 of Book Five are devoted to the points of doctrine that must be taught the Indians. In regard to Acosta's requirement for an explicit belief in Christ, Schmidlin notes that the only theologian against this opinion whom Acosta mentions is Dominic Soto; cf. Schmidlin, "Katholische Missionstheoretiker des 16 und

17 Jahrhunderts" in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Münster I (1900), 220. The opinion of Acosta and that of other theologians is discussed by P. Lopetegui, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-291.

²¹ Acosta, *De Procuranda*, Lib. VI, c. 19, pp. 565-567. P. Lopetegui, *op. cit.*, devotes all of Chapter 13 to this topic.

²² Brancati, Disp. XVIII, art. 9, nn. 222-225.

²³ Acosta, *De Procuranda*, Lib. II, c. 8, pp. 213-218.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Lib. II, c. 15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Lib. II, cc. 2, 4, 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Lib. II, cc. 13, 14.

²⁷ Brancati, Disp. XVIII, art. 9, n. 225.

²⁸ This teaching of Brancati in regard to Christian princes is not found in the mission treatise, but is included here because it is related to his mission theory and because he refers explicitly to missionaries. His teaching is found in his *Commentaria*, Tome IV (Romae, 1676), Disp. XIV, art. 10, par. 6.

²⁹ E.g., in Lib. I, cc. 3, 4; Lib. IV, cc. 6-9; Lib. V, c. 14.

³⁰ On the other hand, it would seem that Brancati's excellent article on peace among missionaries would have been less likely to have issued from the parties actually involved, let us say, in the rite controversy.

³¹ On Acosta's sources, cf. Schmidlin, "Katholische Missionstheoretiker des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts" in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, I, 220; also Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory*, p. 12; also Lopetegui, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-409.

³² Lopetegui, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

³³ *Ibid.*, 407-419.

³⁴ Thus Schmidlin in the two sources quoted in note 31 above; also Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, I, 73, and Paventi, *op. cit.*, I, 150-151.

³⁵ P. Charles, S.J., *Dossiers de l'Action Missionnaire*, p. 416.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

¹ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium, Schismaticorum, Judaeorum, Sarracenorum, caeterorumq; Infidelium Libri XIII, Antverpiae, 1613*. The latest edition of this book was published in Rome, 1940, with some critical notes by P. Tommaso di Gesu (Pammolli), O.C.D.; it contains only the first four of the twelve books of the original work. For easier consultation the references to the page numbers of chapters of the *first four books* pertain to the latest edition; otherwise to the Antwerp edition.

² For the life and work of Thomas a Jesu, cf. P. Tommaso di Gesu (Pammolli), *Il P. Tommaso di Gesu e la sua attivita missionaria all'inizio del secolo XVII*, Roma, 1936. For this period of his life when he was opposed to the missionary apostolate, cf. pp. 78-90. Since the modern author has the same name as the ancient Carmelite, the name Father Pammolli will be used to indicate the modern author. The name Thomas a Jesu will always refer to the Carmelite of the seventeenth century.

³ Cf. Pammolli, *op. cit.*, p. 177. There he says that the first, second, fourth, and fifth parts of the *Stimulus Missionum* are found in the *De Procuranda*, while on pp. 174-175 he states that it is composed of only four parts.

⁴ The title of the second edition was slightly modified: *Thesaurus Sapientiae Divinae in Gentium Omnium Salute Procuranda*. The text corresponds perfectly to that of the first edition. Cf. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, I, 153.

⁵ *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Vol. III, fol. 96 (Archives of the S. Cong. de Prop. Fide, Roma). Cf. Tommaso di Gesu (Pammolli), "La Somma Missionaria del P. Tommaso di Gesu" in *Il Carmelo e Le Sue Missioni*, 1935, pp. 396-400.

⁶ Pammolli, *Il P. Tommaso di Gesu e la sua attivita missionaria*, p. 200.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 200-201.

⁸ Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, I, 151-152. "Mit Thomas a Jesu erscheint der systematisierende Missionstheoretiker. . . . Das katholische Missionswerk, das im 17. Jahrhundert einen so glanzvollen Aufschwung nahm, konnte nicht besser eingeleitet werden als durch dieses Buch, *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*. Es geht hervor aus der grossen Idee der einen, allgemeinen Kirche; es beruht auf dem genialen Plane der Weltmission—Die Einzelnen Teile fügen sich zu einem einheitlichen Organismus zusammen, zu einer Missionstheorie, die gesammelten Grundsätze zu einem Missionssystem. Thomas a Jesu ist Missionstheoretiker."

⁹ Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, pp. 266-267.

¹⁰ Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory*, p. 13. Evidently Schmidlin considered Thomas a Jesu, a Spaniard, to be a Belgian, because his book was published at Antwerp.

¹¹ Paventi, *La Chiesa Missionaria*, I, 150-154.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 153. "L'opera del P. Tommaso di Gesu, stampata nel 1613 . . . ha il grande merito di presentare in un'ordine sistematico per la prima volta tutto l'immenso materiale raccolto. La trattazione è condotta in forma scholastica e sistematica ma a volta difetta di chiarezza."

¹³ Mondreganes, *Manuale di Missionologia*, p. 235.

¹⁴ Pammolli, *Il P. Tommaso di Gesu e la sua attivita missionaria*, p. 198. "Coloro—e non sono pochi—che, abituati ad ammirare Tommaso di

Gesu quasi come il creatore della teoria missionaria, come il Dottore delle missioni, potrebbero restare sorpresi di veder quasi limitato al campo pratico il valore della sua opera di scrittore." See also p. 207 where he calls Thomas a Jesu "il dottore, nel suo Ordine, del movimento missionario." He refers to Goyau, the first to suggest this title, who wrote: "Thomas de Jesu, qui fut a proprement parler, *parmi les Carmes*, le docteur du mouvement missionnaire." Cf. George Goyau, *Missions et Missionnaires*, Paris, 1931, p. 80.

¹⁵ Pammolli, *ibid.*, ". . . Tommaso di Gesu, il geniale sistematizzatore della teoria missionaria . . . un ordinatore della teoria delle missioni. Ma e pur grande merito aver raccolta, ordinata, sistematizzata la scienza delle missioni." pp. 202-203.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203. J. Hoornbeeck, a Protestant of the seventeenth century, wrote in his book, *De Conversione Indorum et Gentilium* (Amstelodamii, 1669), after speaking about Acosta: "Acosta adjungo scriptorem *hoc in argumento* non utilem modo, sed fere necessarium lectu, Thomam a Jesu, Carmelitani Ordinis Monachum, qui etiam illius Acostae tractatum appellat aureum et omni eruditioni plenum" (Lib. II, c. 2, p. 100). Perhaps Hoornbeeck was unaware that *in hoc argumento* (the necessity of military protection for missionaries among the Indians), Thomas a Jesu was merely repeating the words of Acosta. Therefore, once one had read Acosta, it was hardly useful, much less necessary, to read Acosta's words again in the work of Thomas a Jesu.

¹⁷ Pammolli, *ibid.*, p. 193. ". . . opera che puo dirsi la prima sintesi della scienza missionaria."

¹⁸ Brancati, *Commentaria*, Tom. III, p. 2a, Disp. XVIII, art. 5, n. 98.

¹⁹ Charles, *Dossiers*, p. 417.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 417.

²¹ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, prologue, p. 6. ". . . non solum in hoc opere Christianorum animos et praecipue Religiosorum, ad tuendam Christi causam animarumque salutem curandam excitare, sed et arma tam in his quae ad doctrinam pro infidelium errorum confutatione, quam quae ad prudentiam pro adjuvandis his, atque ad fidem alliciendis, non absque aliquo labore subministrare conabimur . . . tamen quia multi, maxime vero illi qui orbem peragraturi missionum studio incumbunt, nec tanta librorum copia, nec otio abundant, ut ex tam variis auctoribus tamque prolixis disputationibus brevi tempore ea, quibus pro temporum personarumque opportunitate opus habent, possint decerpere; illud certe desiderari videbatur, ut in unum veluti corpus omnia praesidia et arma, quae ad fidem tuendam propugnandamque faciunt, et argumenta ad infidelium sectas extirpandas, adversariorumque objectiones refellendo, modus denique secure et inoffenso pede inter illos conversandi, eaque agendi dexteritate et prudentia, ut ad fidem amplectendam suaviter alliciantur, accurate redigerentur."

²² *Ibid.*, p. 8. "Vix autem judico aliquem posse conqueri de nobis; neminem enim scienter fraudavimus, sed omnium honorifice mentionem fecimus, a quibus aliquid ad nos boni accessit. Fateor, in minutis auctorum interdum nomina, ne ad fastidium ingerentur, suppressa esse."

²³ Pammolli, *Il P. Tommaso di Gesu e la sua attivita missionaria*, p. 193. "Scrivendo di missioni non ha avuto intenzione di creare un'opera nuova dal punto di vista dottrinale."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203. "Piu che uno scrittore originale Tommaso di Gesu e un compilatore."

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 182. "Lo studioso che scorre le pagine di questa vasta opera col preconetto di trovarvi il frutto delle elucubrazioni di un dotto, a prima vista potra, forse, riceverne un'impressione di non grata sorpresa

nel vedere le copiose e prolisse citazioni delle quali il P. Tommaso fa uso: testi dell'antico e del nuovo testamento, di Padri e scrittori ecclesiastici, di teologi e missiologi; pagine intere trascritte da altre opere sia edite che inedite. Vi sono capitoli, ad esempio il settimo e il nono del primo libro, che constano di soli testi, con l'aggiunta, da parte dell'autore, di alcune linee soltanto."

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178. "... il manuale dell'apostolato missionario."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198. "... quasi limitato al campo pratico il valore della sua opera di scrittore."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 199. "Il fine dell'opera era, quindi, principalmente pratico."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202-203. "Difetto notevole, da noi già ripetutamente indicato, e la troppa dipendenza da altri autori, tanto che qualche capitolo sembra un mosaico."

³⁰ Charles, *Dossiers*, p. 418. "Le Cardinal Brancati de Lauraea, est peut-etre le premier qui ait essaye un traite systematique de *Fidei propagatione*."

³¹ Paventi, *La Chiesa Missionaria*, I, 158. "Il primo, che ha cercato di darci un trattato sistematico de fide propagatione e stato, il Cardinale Brancati di Lauria."

³² See Chapter I of this book.

³³ "L'insegnamento nell'Universita Romana rese ancora piu celebre il suo nome, gli guadagnavo molte simpatie nelle alte sfere vaticane: i Cardinali lo onoravano della loro amicizia e si servivano di lui, dei suoi consigli illuminati de una vasta e profonda dottrina; le SS. Congregazioni se lo disputavano." Scaramuzzi, *Il Pensiero di Giovanni Duns Scoto nel Mezzogiorno D'Italia*, p. 155. Hurter writes that when Brancati was chosen as the theologian for the French legation by Cardinal Flavius Chisius, the Pope refused to let him go, saying that he had such confidence in the work of Brancati and that he was so necessary to him that he could not spare him. Brancati enjoyed this same esteem from Clement IX, Clement X and Innocent XI. Cf. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, tom. IV, col. 352.

³⁴ Cf. Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

³⁵ Franchini, *Bibliosofia di Scrittori Francescani Conventuali*, p. 398. "In tutte le sue opere, egli e singolare nel methodo e chiarezza, ordinando e dividendo con tal finezza di giudicio, che nascendo una cognitione dall'altra, di nodi ben disposti, forma catena all'intelletto, illuminandolo con inarrivabile chiarezza, e costringendolo con ineluttabile forze di dottrina, Padri e Leggi, che adduce con gran vigore, e forma adattezza a suoi luoghi."

³⁶ Although the missionary work of the Catholic Church is as ancient as the Church itself, the systematic and scientific study of this activity was not developed until the present century, beginning about 1907. Streit and Schmidlin were the early proponents of mission science. Cf. P. Rommerskirchen, O.M.I., in *Guida delle Missioni Cattoliche*, Roma, 1935, p. 572.

³⁷ Brancati, *Commentaria in Tertium Librum Sententiarum Scoti*, Tom. III, pars 1a, Romae, Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1673. "Operae pretium esse putavi . . . de Fide tractatum adjicere, tamquam de argumento instituti mei rationi maxime congruente, nec solum pervulgato more, nobiliores quasque disputationes exhibere; sed et ipsius propagationem, quo potissimum ordine, quibus consiliis, quorum opera, quo maxime tempore, et quas in terras, Gentesque facta fuerit, hodieque fiat, faciendaque sit, historica potius, quam dialectica methodo tradere." A further declaration of intention is found at the beginning of Disputation XVII in the second part of Tome III: "Occasione disputationis de Fide Proponenda placuit et aliam disputationem partim historicam quoad

factum, partim doctrinalem quoad facienda, proponere. Hoc enim est validum argumentum. Quaeram ergo primum, quomodo et quibus in locis fuerit ab initio praedicata, seu proposita Fides; deinde, an sit praeceptum de ea propaganda, et quos obliget. In alia postea quaeram, quomodo sit propaganda."

³⁸ Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory*, p. 3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁰ This is the argument that Thomas a Jesu used to justify his work. He was not deterred from it by the fact that Antonius Possevinus had previously treated much the same matter, and he quotes St. Augustine in his book, *De Trinitate*, who wrote: "Ideo utile est plures a pluribus fieri diverso stilo, non diversa fide, etiam de quaestionibus eisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat; ad alios sic, ad alios autem sic." (ML 42, 283). See the prologue of *De Procuranda Salute Omnium Gentium*, nov. ed., Roma, 1940, pp. 7-8.

⁴¹ Brancati, *Commentaria*, Tom. III, pars 2a, Disp. XVII, in initio.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Disp. XVIII, art. 2, n. 29; Disp. XVIII, art. 5, n. 98; Disp. XVIII, art. 9, n. 210.

⁴³ Father Pammolli wrote that Thomas a Jesu gives the following reasons for the necessity of the missions: the universal salvific will of God, the universality of the redemption, the precept of Christ, the example of the Apostles and saints; and on the part of the people, their privation of the light of the Gospel. See "La Missione nel Pensiero del P. Tommaso di Gesu" in *Il Pensiero Missionario*, VII (1935), 355. Thomas a Jesu does not give as reasons the universal salvific will of God and the universality of redemption in the *De Procuranda*. At the beginning of Book One, outlining the matter contained in chapters one to eight he wrote: "Priori igitur hac parte, ostensa totius orbis facie, simul et extrema animarum salutis necessitas detegitur. Deinde quam gratum sit Deo ipsi studium ac labor pro juvandis animabus, maxime infidelium, quantaque honestatis eminentia et dignitas in eo resplendeant, ostenditur, tum ex ipsius animae rationalis nobilitate ac praestantia, tum ex doctrina et exemplo Christi, et aliorum Sanctorum tum etiam inter alia praecipue ex virtutum omnium influxu in hoc opere, ac denique ex eminentia et praestantia inter alia opera." *De Procuranda*, lib. I, introduction to c. 1, p. 9; cf. also lib. I, c. 2, p. 15.

⁴⁴ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. II, par. I, c. 1, pp. 67-75.

⁴⁵ Thomas Bozius, *De Signis Ecclesiae Dei Libri XXIII*, Tomus Primus, Romae, 1591; Caesar Cardinalis Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, I-XII, Romae, 1593-1607; cont. by Odericus Raynaldus, XIII-XV, Romae, 1646-1652.

⁴⁶ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. II, par. I, c. 8, pp. 92-98.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Lib. II, par. 2, cc. 1-7, pp. 99-141; also Lib. II, par. 3, cc. 1-5, pp. 142-164.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Lib. I, c. 9, pp. 56-60.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Lib. II, par. I, c. I, p. 67.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Lib. II, par. I, c. 8, p. 91.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Lib. II, par. III, introd. to c. 1, p. 142.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Lib. I, c. 9, p. 56.

⁵³ "Tommaso di Gesu si mostra incerto sull'estensione di questo obbligo," he writes in regard to bishops. Pammolli, "La Missione nel Pensiero del P. Tommaso di Gesu" in *Il Pensiero Missionario*, VII, 359.

⁵⁴ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. I, c. 9, p. 56-60.

⁵⁵ Brancati, *Commentaria*, Tom. III, pars 2a, Disp. XVII, art. 7, n. 421. "Ergo solius Romani Pontificis jus est ad infidelium terras missiones instituere."

⁵⁶ Father Pammolli notes some of these difficulties in his book, *Il P. Tommaso di Gesù e la sua attività missionaria*, pp. 230-231.

⁵⁷ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, passim in Lib. I, c. 10; Lib. II, par. I, c. 1; Lib. III, c. 2; Lib. IV, cc. 1-12. Cf. Pammolli's article in *Il Pensiero Missionario*, p. 349, footnote 15.

⁵⁸ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. II, par. I, c. 1; Lib. III, cc. 1-3; Lib. IV, par. I, cc. 1-2 *passim*.

⁵⁹ Pammolli, article in *Il Pensiero Missionario*, p. 350 where he cites the source for this use of the term "mission."

⁶⁰ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. IV, par. II, c. 10, pp. 289-291.

⁶¹ Brancati, *Commentaria*, Tom. III, pars 2a, Disp. XVIII, art. 5. The need of languages is pointed out in nn. 83-85 of this article. In regard to the study of theology he writes: "Quo facto docemur, neminem ad missionem idoneum reputari, nisi doctrina Evangelii ab Ecclesia jam declarati, fuerit optime instructus" (n. 86). He also writes: "Qui ergo caret lumine doctrinae, nequit alios docere, et de his fit rigorosum examen a Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide." (n. 91). It is quite likely that Brancati himself gave these examinations, not only because he was Prefect of Studies at the Propaganda College but also because he was an examiner for priests and bishops. See Chapter I of this book.

⁶² Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. IV, par. I, c. 1, p. 186. "Et, quod sine controversia esse videtur, possunt ministri, qui inter barbaros versantur, suae vitae indemnitati consulere, et praesidiis illis quae defensionis sunt propria, ut sunt praesidia militaria et alia quae barbaros ipsos, quorum natura est maxime inconstans et infida, in officio, terrore ac metu contineant, muniri."

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 186. "Sed an expediat his praesidiis expeditionibusque viro evangelico uti, non parvam continet difficultatem. Nam in primis veterem et apostolicam evangelizandi rationem non posse exacte servari inter barbaros, ac proinde non esse deserenda humana praesidia, affirmat vir alias valde doctus et pius ac in conversione animarum versatissimus, Jos. Acosta, lib. 2, c. 8."

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-194.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194. "Quare in illis ad fidem convertendis non videtur recedendum ab antiqua apostolicaque missionum forma; sed, rejectis humanis praesidiis, in uno Deo spes tota casto corde erit collocanda."

⁶⁷ Pammolli, article in *Il Pensiero Missionario*, VII, 361.

⁶⁸ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. II, par. I, c. 8, p. 93.

⁶⁹ Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Lib. III, c. 2, p. 256. There are only two very slight differences; Thomas a Jesu wrote *Alexander VI* for *Alexander Sexti*, and *concessionem* for *concessionem*. Otherwise the two texts are identical.

⁷⁰ Pammolli, article in *Il Pensiero Missionario*, VII, 361. "... infine, perche nel libro quarto vuol dimostrare ex-professo che l'assistenza dei governi cristiani non e necessaria [italics his] ... qui, invece, [i.e. in Book Two where he cites Acosta] parla dell'utilita, dei vantaggi che ne possono venire alla missione, e soprattutto parla dell'obbligo di cooperazione da parte dei principi cristiani in quanto tali."

⁷¹ This explanation of Father Pammolli seems no less confusing than the difficulty he tries to explain, especially since he wrote on page 352 of the same article: "Tommaso di Gesù, pur rilevando l'utilità che alla missione proviene dall'appoggio morale dei principi cristiani; pur riconoscendo, come Acosta, che ai re di Portogallo e di Spagna fu dato dalla Sante Sede particolare incarico di promuovere la conversione dei popoli infideli nelle terre da essi scoperte; tuttavia concepisce la missione netta-

mente separata dal potere civile e dai problemi politici: per lui la missione non deve mirare ad altro che a proporre, propagare, e consolidare la dottrina del Vangelo."

What was the relationship between the state and the missions, according to Thomas a Jesu? If it wasn't *necessary*, how could he speak about the *obligation* of the state to cooperate in the mission apostolate? And if Thomas a Jesu spoke about the utility for the missions of this co-operation by the state, then how can it be said that he conceives of the missions as clearly separate from the civil power?

⁷² P. Charles, *Dossiers*, p. 29.

⁷³ Brancati, *Commentaria*, Tom. IV, Disp. XIV, art. 10, par. 6.

⁷⁴ Thomas a Jesu, *De Procuranda*, Lib. IV, par. I, c. 7, p. 238. "Magna igitur opus est consideratione, ac ut verius dicam, opus est divinae prudentiae, discernere quando cum infidelibus publicis colloquiis et collationibus congregiendum sit, quando vero abstinendum; inspiciendaque sunt personarum merita, studia, sapientia, ac praecipue morum integritas, ac vitae sanctitas, quibus viri sapientes, divina ope nixi, promerentur de inimicis palmam reportare."

⁷⁵ Schmidlin, for example, writes: "Weak effusions, based entirely on the earlier writers, characterize the literature of the eighteenth century. . . . we can point proudly to the numerous and significant products of Catholic mission theory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We cannot, however, escape a feeling of regret when we think that nothing of equivalent importance was produced in the two succeeding centuries." *Catholic Mission Theory*, p. 17.

⁷⁶ Cf. Pammolli, *Il P. Tommaso di Gesu e la sua attivita missionaria*, pp. 182-183.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176; pp. 185-186.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

¹ For the biographical data of Gubernatis, cf. Fr. Hyacinthus Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci*, Opus posthumum a Fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaralea, editio nova, Pars III, Romae, 1936, p. 217; also, Joanne a San Antonio, *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana*, Matriti, 1732, Tom. I, pp. 315-316.

² Dominicus de Gubernatis, *Orbis Seraphicus*, Tom. I-V, Romae et Lugduni, 1682-1689. Vol. VI was published in 1886 at Quaracchi.

³ Gubernatis, *ibid.*, V, p. 1. "Probatissimis a Philosophorum Regulis, nisi culpabiliter recedere velimus, de quacumque re tractatum instituiamus, quid per nomen importetur, videlicet ipsius essentiam praecognoscere debemus, antequam ad illius operationes descendamus. Amplissimum itaque, atque dignissimum de Fratrum Minorum Missionibus Apostolicis tractatum pro dignitate daturi, primo de Missionis aethimologia, essentia et passionibus, sive adjacentibus intrinsece, quantum saltem sufficiat ad intentum, non convenire non possumus, ut exinde facilius et tutius de Missionum effectibus liceat methodice discurrere."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1. "Missio, prout a generali sua usurpatione ad tractatum ecclesiasticum arctatur, dici potest, esse processio alicuius activi, sive operativi ab aliquo principio ad aliquem terminum, vel ad aliquam operationem de novo juxta intentum a mittente praescriptum; ita ut ibi esse, vel operari de novo incipiat, quam ibi antea esset, vel operaretur."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3. "Hic de sola Missione medita et ordinaria, de illa nempe tractatum habere intendamus, per quam a Romano Pontifice, supremo in terris Jesu Christo Vicario, et ab aliis in Ecclesiastica Hierarchia legitimam mittendi facultatem habentibus coadjutores in salutem animarum mitti consueverunt, praecipue ad praedicandum infidelibus Evangelii doctrinam."

⁶ The preceding argumentation is contained in chapter 2 of Gubernatis' work, pp. 4-6.

⁷ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 3, p. 8.

⁸ See e.g. Comando, *Vita, passim*, where both names can be found.

⁹ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 3, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹² Lauria, *Commentaria*, Tom. III, Disp. 17, art. 8, par. 2, n. 541.

¹³ Charles, *Dossiers*, p. 419. "Il s'agit là surtout de l'histoire des missions franciscaines. Les missions en général et la doctrine missionnaire ne sont touchées que très sommairement dans le premier tome, chap. IV, et sans discussion."

¹⁴ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁷ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 1, n. 2.

¹⁸ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 9.

¹⁹ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 1, nn. 1, 2, 10.

²⁰ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 9.

²¹ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 1, n. 7.

²² Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 9.

²³ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 1, n. 5.

²⁴ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, pp. 9-10.

²⁵ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 1, n. 15.

²⁶ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 10.

²⁷ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 1, n. 17.

²⁸ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 10.

²⁹ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, n. 76-77.

³⁰ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 13.

³¹ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 4, n. 51-58.

³² *Ibid.*, nn. 59, 71.

³³ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 13.

³⁴ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 92, 94, 95, 97, 98 *passim*.

³⁵ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 14.

³⁶ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 99-101.

³⁷ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, pp. 14-15.

³⁸ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 102-103 *passim*.

³⁹ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 104-105.

⁴¹ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 15.

⁴² Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 106-107.

⁴³ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 15.

⁴⁴ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 116, 119, 124.

⁴⁵ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 131, 134, 137, 140.

⁴⁷ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 15.

⁴⁸ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 6, n. 9.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Disp. 18, a. 5, nn. 81-82. Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 4, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 5, pp. 17-20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, c. 5, p. 16.

⁵² *Ibid.*, c. 5, p. 17. In referring to the denial of God by atheists, he writes: "Huius insipientiae motiva cum remediis opportunis habet Missionarius in Biblioth. Theol. Dominic a SS. Trinitate t. 5, par. 1, lib. 4, sect. 3 cap. 2 et Card. Lauria comm. in lib. 3. Scoti t. 3, par. 1 a disp. 12 generaliter." In referring to philosophers, he writes: "De eis etiam Cardinalis Lauria cit. et Domin. a S. Trinitate sec. 5" (p. 18).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, c. 5, p. 20. "Haec in genere adnotasse pro Missionarii instructione sufficiat; caeterum ad tractatus theologicos debet recurrere."

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 5, p. 16. "Proculdubio tenetur Missionarius ad vitae documenta solerter attendere, quae in Evangelio praescribuntur Apostolis atque discipulis ad missiones destinatis et quae Apostoli nos suo docuerunt exemplo . . . haec a Card. Lauria, in Comm. super tertium Scoti, Tom. 3, par. 2, Disp. 18 ex Evangelio et sanctis Patribus abundantissime collecta declarantur, ut et in opere aureo P. Thomae a Jesu, De Omnium Gentium Procurando Salute [sic] ibi omnino videnda; quae unico verbo in compendium redegit Apostolus." Gubernatis makes a wrong citation here; the documents are found in Disp. 18, art. 7 and 8 of Lauria's *Commentaria*, Tom. III.

⁵⁵ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 9, nn. 222-223.

⁵⁶ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 5, p. 20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21. "... denique de istis, et de ceteris ad excelsum hoc munus Apostolicae Missionis rite, sancteque exercendum attinentibus, legendi sunt allegati Cardinalis Lauria, et Thomas a Jesu, et alii, qui de istis agunt ex professo."

⁵⁸ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 18, a. 9, nn. 211-212.

⁵⁹ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 5, p. 20.

⁶⁰ Lauria, *op. cit.*, Disp. 19, a. 10, nn. 201, 213.

⁶¹ Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, c. 5, p. 22.

⁶² See page 123 of this chapter.

⁶³ Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, I, p. 312.

⁶⁴ Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission Theory*, p. 16.

⁶⁵ Charles, *Dossiers*, p. 419. See footnote 13 of this chapter.

⁶⁶ Paventi, *La Chiesa Missionaria*, I, p. 159.

⁶⁷ P. Carlo Longhi, *La Formazione Intellettuale dei Missionari dal Secolo XIII al secolo XVIII*, Tesi di Laurea in Missionologia, Romae apud Pont. Institutum Missionale Scientificum, 1938. In a chapter entitled, "Necessita di una formazione intellettuale," Longhi writes: "Molto e con chiarezza ha scritto Domenico de Gubernatis . . . Da notare in questo autore italiano, forse poco conosciuto come missionologo, la terminologia scolastica applicata con arte al suo breve ma chiaro trattato di teoria missionaria."—pp. 54-55. Cf. also pp. 58-59; 65-66; 72; 77.

⁶⁸ Fr. Pedro de Anasagasti, O.F.M., "Tres Misionologos Frente a la Vocacion Misionera: Jose de Acosta, Tomas de Jesus y Domingo de Gubernatis," in *Misiones Extranieras*, Vol. V, Num. 17 (Enero-Junio 1956), pp. 71-96.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72. "Versado en la dogmática, su retrato de la vocación misionera se adentra en la exposición doctrinal, de sólidos principios, que adoba con la frecuente y atinada citación de la Sagrada Escritura, primaria fuente doctrinal de su escrito."

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 84. "Gubernatis encasilla las cualidades del misionero en tres especies, división que seguiremos paar dar mayor orden y claridad a la teoría considerable de elementos misioneros. Dento de esa división, señalaremos las ideas más características, sobre las diversas cualidades en cada uno de los tres misionólogos."

⁷³ see footnote 3 of this chapter.

⁷⁴ Gubernatis wrote of Lauria: "Novem de suis [Patribus Conventualibus] ab Eugenio IV tempore in sacro Patrum Purpuratorum Collegio altius eminere conspexerunt, quibus novissime decimum veluti perfectionem etque coronidem addidit Innocentius XI, videlicet Em. D. Fr. Laurentium Brancatum de Laurea ingeniorum nostri saeculi Phaenicem, qui post omnia fere suae Religionis munia laudatissime completa, S. Theologiae Lector in Romana Sapientia, sanctae Romanae et universalis Inquisitionis Consultor, simul ac in Sacris Cardinalium Congregationis Indicis Librorum, Indulgentiarum, super statu Regularium etiam cum voto in Congregatione Consistoriali Consultor, synodalis Examiner in Urbe, Examiner itidem Episcoporum, in S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide Studiorum praefectus, denique Bibliothecae Vaticanae Custos primarius, praeter innumeras et maximas Religionis suae curas, haec extra Religionem primaria decem officia immensa cum laude sustinuit; novemque justis de Re Ecclesiastica tomis gloriam ingenii sui cum omnium utilitate immortalitate consecravit; tandem ex meritorum intuitu sacro Cardinalium Collegio anno 1681 foeliciter adscriptus." *Orbis Seraphicus*, Tomus Secundus, Liber IX, Cap. IX, n. 154. Lugduni MDCLXXXV (1685).

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